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THE TYPICAL LIFE CYCLE OF DICTATORSHIPS*

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DICTATORSHIPS are not only cultural complexes which have recurrently appeared in history; each one is also a series of interlocked processes. Several analysts of dictatorships have devoted themselves superficially to this phase of the subject.¹ The stages here set forth are a composite construction based upon a study of some thirty-five dictators, beginning with the Greek tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., especially Cleisthenes of Sicyon, Peisistratus of Athens, Periander of Corinth, and Jason of Thessaly in the fourth century, and including the tyrants of Sicily, notably Dionysius I of Syracuse, the dictators of Rome in the last century before the Empire, Marius, Sulla, Caesar and Augustus, the European dictators prior to the World War, such as Cosimo de Medici, Francesco Sforza, Oliver Cromwell, Richelieu, Louis XIV, Napoleon and Louis Napoleon, the outstanding Latin-Ameri-

can dictators, treating among others, Bolivar, Francia, Rosas, Lopez, Diaz, and Gomez, and finally the Post-War crop, Stalin, Goemboes, Mussolini, Kemal Atatürk, Reza Shah Pahlevi, Primo de Rivera, Pilsudski, Salazar, Hitler, Dollfuss, Alexander, and Metaxas. The contemporary group is of only partial significance in this present study in as much as most of their dictatorships have not yet run their full course.

No actual dictatorship, of course, conforms perfectly to the cycle here presented. Some omit one or more of the stages, or the given stage is somewhat different than that described. But the great majority of the completed dictatorships correspond quite closely and in all major aspects with the typical career as depicted.

I. PERIOD OF CHAOS, DEPRESSION, AND GOVERNMENTAL BREAKDOWN

This is that early stage when general confusion prevails, usually after some national shock or catastrophe—a time of economic insecurity, class conflict and upheaval, group humiliation and institutional disorganization, especially a loss of confidence in existing governmental agencies. Those sinister allies, war and revolution, have only exceptionally made the world safe for democracies; instead they have bred tyrannies. The reason is

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¹ Max Lerner, "The Pattern of Dictatorship," in G. S. Ford, *Dictatorship in the Modern World*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1935, pp. 8-21; R. C. Brooks, *Deliver Us From Dictators*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, pp. 130-148; Karl Loewenstein, "Autocracy versus Democracy in Contemporary Europe," *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.* 29 (August 1935): 581-582.

that in times of chaos and confusion people crave order, tranquility, prosperity, and stable control; they seek hope and a purpose; they are willing to pay a high price for a deliverer. And such times have never been wanting in would-be deliverers. Times such as these set the stage for every one of the dictatorships mentioned above.

2. THE PREPARATION FOR POWER BY THE RISING DICTATOR OR DICTATORIAL POWER

During this period the "strong man" is gradually developing his ideology, accumulating a following, forming a private army, developing a party, gaining economic strength and control, and is carrying on as much indoctrination as is possible. This period has occasionally been one of competition between several possible contenders, as in the case of Sulla and Marius, Caesar and Pompey, Octavius and Anthony, and frequently in the case of various Latin-American dictatorships. Usually, however, the sentiment and organization crystallizes—often quite suddenly, and with considerable help from the individual—around a particular man—Dionysius, Cromwell, Bolivar, Francia, Napoleon, Louis Napoleon, Diaz, Pilsudski, Kemal Atatürk, Mussolini, Dollfuss, Hitler—who becomes the leader, and often also the symbol of the movement.

Many dictatorships have been characterized at this stage by a carefully devised propagandist "build-up" for the would-be dictator. By means of spectacular demonstrations, campaigns of speech making, the use of personally controlled newspapers, villification of existing governors, free promising, and careful sloganizing, they prepare the way for themselves. Caesar used his triumphs to bedazzle the people, and his soldiers to "talk-up" himself; Cosimo de' Medici used his trip

to Venice to full advantage and through his wealth controlled much opinion and many governmental agencies in Florence; Richelieu used his church offices adroitly, and carefully insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-mother, Marie; Napoleon's military dramatics are well-known; Rosas cleverly constructed his popularity by a controlled press; Louis Napoleon for a year carried on a campaign of speechifying and constantly repeated the slogan "Empire means Peace"; Mussolini's and Hitler's histrionic and other tactics before they gained absolute power are a matter of common knowledge.

In the post-war Fascist movements at this stage the *anti*-viewpoints were set forth—anti-liberalism, anti-parliamentarism, anti-electionism, anti-equality.² The cult of a cohesive nationalistic state was nourished, and order was promised. The Fascist or National Socialist Party grew in membership and in strength and capacity for creating confusion in Parliament. The private army was being organized and equipped, and was beginning its reign of terror. Favorable public sentiment was being developed by newspapers, speakers, radio addresses, and local organization of devotees.

In drawing up a recipe for producing a dictatorship, based on the antecedent occurrences in Russia, Italy, Germany, and Austria, Loewenstein sets forth the following activities which characterized this stage of the process:

1. The founding of an organization covering the whole territory with a network of affiliated branches under the strictly centralized control of a general headquarters directing the forces according to a strategical plan.
2. Small fires of political unrest are kindled until the attention of the whole community is aroused and the necessary propaganda can be launched.

² Lerner, *op. cit.*

3. A political, social, and economic program of astounding contradictions is proclaimed, and wild promises of every kind are lavishly given to everybody.
4. The germ of discontent is disseminated by unscrupulous spellbinders and a permanent state of disorder and disturbance created in the country. Mass meetings and public demonstrations help to ferment the agitation.
5. A wave of libellous law-suits pervades the country, by which even the most honest of opponents is disparaged under the maxim *semper aliquid haeret*.
6. The most obvious truth is distorted by oversimplification of the most obvious facts.
7. Demagogic slogans calculated for the lowest intellectual level of the masses are propagated until the country is one seething mass of conflicting desires, and even the peace-minded citizen arrives at a place where he begins to become restless.
8. The whole pandemonium is accompanied by the drowning step of the marching legionnaires.
9. The display of the military insignia such as uniforms and banners, the wearing of badges and the bearing of arms, and most of all, the comradeship of the mystical union in the new spirit, do not fail to impress the simple-minded and the symbolism of the new order penetrates into the deepest layers of society.
10. The whole nation is divided into two camps of belligerent parties ready and prepared for rebellion and civil war. This is the moment for which the strong man has waited.³

3. THE THRUST AT POWER, THE COUP D'ÉTAT

When the strategic moment arrives, the dictator makes his thrust at power. It may be facilitated by the defeat of the contender, the crumbling and final defeat of parliamentary opposition, or the appalling state of general confusion which exists or which has been produced. Usually it takes the form of a bold *coup d'état* by which all crucial governmental and military offices are taken over by force or by some dramatic gesture—Peisistratus

³ *Op. cit.*, 581. Separation and numbering of ideas mine.

seizing the Acropolis, Sulla defeating Marius and marching on Rome, Cromwell forcibly dissolving Parliament, Napoleon's overthrow of the Directory on the 18th Brumaire, most of the Latin-Americans riding in on the crest of a revolution, Gomez taking possession of Miraflores Palace, Kemal Atatürk deliberately setting up a new government at Angora, Mussolini's "march on Rome," Pilsudski entering Warsaw and stopping the "fooling," as he put it, Alexander's proclamation and his dissolution of Parliament, Hitler's demand for the Chancellorship and the dissolution of the Reichstag on February 1, 1933, Metaxas marching the Army into Athens and dissolving Parliament.

Occasionally there is some pretense of selecting the strong man by some representative body, as in the case of Sulla, Caesar, Augustus, Napoleon, and Francia, and usually some body of some present and past national significance sanctions the man already "in the saddle" as in the case of Francesco Sforza, Goemboes, Alexander, Venizelos, and Metaxas. These are largely formalities however since the course of events and the studied efforts of the dictatorial groups have already placed the strong man in power, legally or extra-legally.

At this stage of the dictatorship-to-be the army frequently goes over to the side of the dictator or at least refuses to oppose him. Army leaders hate weak and confused governments and readily give their allegiance to those who promise strength and decisive action. The Greek tyrants usually had the ready adherence of the military groups and the Roman dictators had armies of their own. Richelieu found in the army a staunch support during the early years of his ascendancy. It is not surprising that the army should have been willing to support their celebrated gen-

eral, the first Napoleon, and the army also was loyal to the third Napoleon when he was reaching out for power. In Latin America, where unstable constitutional regimes gave way to periodically re-appearing dictatorships in *coup* after *coup*, the success of the seizure invariably depended upon the support of armed forces. In Italy the army remained neutral at this juncture, which was enough to give Mussolini the upper hand. The army quickly rallied to the aid of Kemal Atatürk and Primo de Rivera. In Poland the army always supported Pilsudski, their revered general. Likewise in Yugoslavia, the army supported their supreme commander, the King. In Germany the army refused to oppose Hitler, because it saw in his nationalistic program the most effective means for the re-armament and re-militarization of Germany.⁴ Metaxas had the unqualified assistance and approval of the army.

4. THE CONQUEST OR "THE REVOLUTION"

In the early days of a dictatorship, before the free spirits have been clubbed into submission, and other persons of independent mind have been expelled or otherwise eliminated, the forces of resistance hold their own for a while. This must be crushed, for a dictatorship cannot allow rivals or an active opposition. Hence there must be "the Revolution," as Mussolini called this stage.

This is a process of "purging" the nation, and taking possession of its administrative machinery and its population. It consists of destroying or making harmless all the vestiges of the old political system that might interfere with the new, of gaining control of the parliament

and the courts, of appropriating the treasury and administering the system of taxation, of controlling all-important economic processes, relations and institutions, of taking over and reconstructing the army and developing its own private army and secret police, of eliminating or "liquidating" all opposition individuals, groups or factions, real or imaginary, by imprisonment, torture, banishment and execution, in subduing the populace generally by terrorist tactics, in encouraging, even forcing, membership in dictatorial organizations, and forcing allegiance to the principles and leaders of the dictatorship, in taking over all control of the means of communication and information, and in placing the dictator's henchmen in charge of all strategic aspects of life. From Peisistratus to Metaxas the procedure has been almost identical.

5. THE ENTRENCHMENT

During this period a favorable public opinion is gradually built up by propaganda of all kinds and by education. It is essentially a process of systematic indoctrination. "The real triumph of dictatorship is not to have silenced its foes, but to make them sing its praises," says a German observer.⁵ An effort is made to cement the group life by common ideals, interests, loyalties and programs. "Therefore, the dictator attempts by means of various alchemies to transmute fear and hatred into loyalty, servility into self-respect, and degradation into dignity."⁶ Use is made of studiously developed antipathies, and of high pressure patriotism and nationalism. Many

⁴ F. M. Marx, "Propaganda and Dictatorship" *Annals of Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science*, 179 (May, 1935): 211-218, p. 211.

⁶ C. E. Dent, "Sociological Indoctrination under Conditions of Dictatorship," *Soc. & Soc. Res.* 20 (Mar.-Apr., 1936): 369-374, p. 370.

⁴ Cf. C. J. Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Politics*, N. Y., Harpers, 1937, pp. 221-23. See also C. Malaparate, *Coup d'Etat, the Technique of Revolution*, N. Y., Dutton, 1932.

of the procedures of the preceding stages are continued in more accentuated form. In order to completely demoralize the opposition and to unify the supporters, systematic terrorism and ruthlessness is conducted by means of the private army and other specially organized bands of supporters. All government services are cleared of opposition and refilled with party men. This not only puts "safe" men in charge, but takes care of the supporters, and "camp followers" by giving them jobs, which in turn assures not only their loyalty but also that of their relatives and friends. Political continuance of power is assured by the "single party" system—a most effective arm of the administration. The judiciary is carefully manipulated, and popular support is acquired by well-supervised plebiscites.

Every educational facility is brought under the exclusive control of the dictatorial regime, and used to indoctrinate those of all ages, but especially to shape the plastic children and young people. The recent dictatorships have supplemented the schools with semi-militaristic youth organizations and sport associations to assure complete control of attitudes and habits. Every significant activity or interest of the population, invariably including religion, is regimented to the end of thwarting all contrary action and of conducting to the regime's objectives.

Public works are conducted. Temples, theaters, roads, aqueducts, and bridges are built, and ancient glories restored. Festivals, ceremonies, processions, military reviews, "stunts," spectacles, and public entertainments of all kinds are provided. The people are employed thereby; they are flattered; they are given things to be proud of, to distract their attention from their grievances, and to focus their gratitude and loyalties upon the acts and person of the dictator.

This stage is a long one. Says Loewenstein, "Experience shows that dictatorial government usually does not attain the summit of unlimited power by one bold stroke. On the contrary, it proceeds slowly and step by step with the object in mind of remaining within the limits of legality and thereby winning public opinion for the new order until the regime is strong enough to hold on without the support of, or even against, public opinion."⁷

6. THE DECLINE

A few of the dictatorships of history have converted themselves into a more or less permanent arrangement following the period of entrenchment. This was significantly true of Augustus who established an enduring dynasty. Cosimo de Medici founded what amounted to a dynasty. Reza Shah Pahlevi seems to have formed a dynasty with some likelihood of persistence. The most outstanding of the contemporary dictatorships are still in existence as dictatorships, and their future can only be somewhat haz- ardously prophesied. The great mass of history's dictatorships, however, have eventually gone into a period of decline.

This decline is due to various factors. There is the growing internal unrest due to the excesses of terrorism, the denial of rights and the inability of large segments of the population to participate in public affairs, the interference with normal and accustomed practices, the miscarriage of the grandiose schemes of the dictators, the overplaying of things by his subordinates, the inability of the dictator to meet his promises, the awareness of the dictator's deceptions, and so on. Says Packard, "...despotism can be tolerated

⁷ K. Loewenstein, "The Dictatorship of Napoleon the First," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 35 (July, 1936): 298-318.

only so long as it justifies itself by its successes. When its efficiency weakens, then its claim upon the loyalty of the people vanishes, and the preliminary signs of disaffection and revolution appear. History, as yet, seems to have revealed no means by which effective absolutism can be indefinitely prolonged."⁸

If the absolute ruler can perpetuate his power by efficient and loyal ministers or a strong bureaucracy, the efficiency of absolutism may be maintained and transmitted to later generations. But the very nature of absolutism prevents this conjunction of factors. The absolute ruler cannot allow the rise of other men to independent power or influence: hence he fears powerful and highly competent men, and selects inferior men as subordinates. Thus the administration of the dictatorial regime invariably deteriorates.

There is usually also the dissension within the dictatorial party showing itself in jealousies, and failure to cooperate. There is the impaired financial situation due to the rising national debt, the loss of markets, and often the cost of foreign wars. Particular mention must be made of failure in foreign wars as a factor in the decline. The two Napoleons and Primo de Rivera are notable illustrations. In most cases there is the growing weariness of the dictator; "one-man" ruling is hard work (as is attested by the deaths in harness). Assassination is always a possibility also, and the knowledge of this fact makes inroads upon the dictator's health and vigor. Frequently there is the growth of foreign opposition due to the exaggerated nationalistic tactics, and invariably there is the growing menace of counter-revolution.

7. THE UPRISING AND OVERTHROW

The unrest and protest and growing internal weakness usually focusses in the form of a successful plot to assassinate the dictator, or a revolution which casts out the dictatorial regime. Such was the end of the dictatorships of Jason of ancient Greece, Caesar, in a sense those of Richelieu and Louis XIV, those of both Napoleons, Rosas, Paez, Guzman-Blanco, Santa Cruz, Garcia-Moreno, Diaz, Primo de Rivera, Alexander, and Greece's previous dictators. The dictatorship has been so weakened by loss of financial and moral support, by internal dissension, or by the growing volume of the opposing external forces that it is incapable of resistance and succumbs; or new contestants for power may arise that are strong and capable of capitalizing the unrest and the ineffectiveness of the existing regime; or it may be due to the returning sanity of the population generally which now demands a constitutional system in place of the extra-legal governmental practices to which they have been subjected.

This stage is sometimes long delayed; in other cases it has come with dramatic suddenness as the result of a quick concatenation of circumstances.

Occasionally the dictatorship outlives the dictator, who dies in harness. But the "strong man" so frequently is the dictatorship that it succumbs shortly after his demise. His successors cannot step into his shoes and survive the opposition forces, always latent, which burst into strength at his disappearance. Hipparchus and Hippias, the sons of Peisistratus, who succeeded him, could not maintain control and were overthrown by a conspiracy of aristocrats. The younger Dionysius could not maintain his father's power. A Royalist reaction overthrew Richard Cromwell, and destroyed all of the achievements of his father, the great

⁸ *The Age of Louis XIV*, N. Y., Holt, 1929, p. 34.

Protector. There was no one to take the place of Bolivar or Gomez and completely new regimes with marked changes in policy came into power; such was also the case following the death of Goemboes in Hungary. Rydz-Smigly has had to produce fundamental changes in Pilsudski's policies.

Several of the dictatorships were converted into orderly semidemocratic, parliamentary governments for a while; there is also a possibility that the dictatorship of Kemal Atatürk will resolve itself into a constitutional government after the existing emergency is cleared up. In several cases the dictatorship was dissolved with the natural death in office of the dictator; notable examples are the dictatorships of Richelieu, Louis XIV, Bolivar, Nunez. Others, as in the case of Jason, Caesar, Garcia-Moreno, King Alexander and Dollfuss terminated with the assassination of the dictator. In all cases, the death of the dictator, regardless of how it occurred, weakened the dictatorship.

In the main, though, dictatorships are born in revolution and die in revolution.

The whole cycle may occur in a relatively short time—as brief a period as two or three years in the case of several of the more obscure and insignificant Balkan or

Latin American dictatorships, for example—or it may take several centuries, as in the case of the Medici, and include the rise and fall of a family or a dynasty. In the case of a dynasty the question of course may be raised as to whether dictatorship properly exists, since by definition it is the more or less temporary arbitrary rule of a single man or faction. As cases of the perfect operation of the ideal-typical cycle discussed we might mention those of Cromwell which endured about 11 years, of Napoleon I, which covered 16 years, Napoleon III, 19 years, Paez of Venezuela, 19 years, Diaz of Mexico, 30 years, de Rivera of Spain, 8 years, and Gomez of Venezuela, 27 years.

After the collapse of a dictatorship or the overthrow of a series of dictatorships, there is usually a temporary reversion to the previous type of social-political control—a “restoration.” If this does not work—and usually it does not, because the defects of the previous regime were partly responsible for the dictatorship itself—there is a period of confusion until a new and more appropriate form is finally worked out, as the Empire in Rome, the establishment of William and Mary in England, the Third Republic in France, and possibly the republic in Mexico.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES IN RELATION TO REGIONAL GROWTH AND INTEGRATION IN THE INLAND EMPIRE REGION

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THE manner in which the people of a given area live, the type of social institutions they build, the pattern of their communal life as well as their general social outlook are conditioned by

the resources upon which they are dependent for their livelihood. The culture of a people is closely associated with the natural products of their habitat and its hinterland. The basic products of a

region and its hinterland are, therefore, of primary importance to its growth and integration and to the development of its social institutions. The spatial distribution of industries and commodities and their symbiotic relation to one another are significant since integration is facilitated by a certain degree of specialization and interdependence. A tendency toward hinterland specialization implies a greater degree of interdependence between the rural and urban areas, because it means a division of functions mutually advantageous. This dual function of establishing and facilitating market contacts, and that of providing the hinterland with tools, services, and other utilities, is an important factor in establishing dominant regional centers and in the ultimate integration of the region.

In discussing the basic products of the Inland Empire Region attention will be devoted to those that have played an important rôle in the development of the region from a semi-isolated, trackless waste into a well integrated habitation area with intricate marketing, transportation, and communication systems.

For purposes of this study the Inland Empire may be defined roughly as "the natural intermountain region lying between the Rocky Mountain range on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west and extending from the British Columbia-United States international boundary to the Blue Mountains in Oregon, an area of approximately 72,000 square miles.¹

FUR TRADE

The first white men to visit the territory now known as the Inland Empire were

¹ R. R. Martin. "Village Changes in the Pacific Northwest," *Social Forces*, 15 (May 1937), pp. 536-542.

traders in search of fur. Parties of trappers connected with the American Fur Company trapped along the banks of the Columbia River in 1808. Other trading parties doubtless visited the territory at a very early date in search of game and fur. These were all transient trappers and may be thought of as scouting and prospecting parties rather than as actual settlers. The first settlements, however, that were to play an important rôle in the ultimate development of the country were made under the direction of the Northwest Fur Company of British Columbia.

The fur trade was of importance in drawing the attention of the white men to the territory and in instigating exploration; as a factor in its final settlement, it was not as important. This trade served only to initiate a movement which depended upon other factors for its final consummation. In fact, the very methods which brought success to the fur trade in this region militated against the permanency of the industry or its ultimate importance in the future development of the territory.

The settlement of the Region, beyond the presence of a few straggling trading posts and a limited number of hunters and trappers, tended to dissipate the economic base itself, because as population increased and the land was used for other purposes, such as lumbering and agriculture, the game was driven from the country. The Hudson Bay Company was aware of this and discouraged settlement in much of the territory that is now included in the Inland Empire. One must not, however, lose sight of the important place occupied by the fur trade in opening this region, nor of its bearing on the establishment of a pattern for future settlement and integration.

MINING

Mining followed closely upon the fur trade as an economic base of the Region in its pioneer stage. Some of the earliest waves of migration came in response to the lure of gold deposits which could be exploited by placer mining. Western Montana, Northern Idaho, the Okanogan and Colville areas in Washington, as well as various other sections of the Pacific Northwest, went through an early period of feverish excitement during these gold rushes. Great numbers of people concentrated in the immediate neighborhoods where discoveries of gold were reported, only to be dispersed to other fields in search of new deposits as soon as the first attractions "pinched out" or proved to be of little value.

These early gold rushes, like the fur trade, were of more importance as a stimulation to prospecting, and in turn, as an encouragement for future immigration to the territory than as an economic asset. Towns grew rapidly for a time at the points where gold was discovered or at strategic places on the trails leading from the bases of supplies to the locations of the gold deposits. In many instances these towns drifted into obsolescence almost as rapidly as they were built up. Some of them have disappeared entirely. Scattered over these old mining districts are a number of communities that remind one of old boats bogged down on the tide flats when the tide is out. The physical skeleton of a community remains, but the life has departed.

The type of mining "boom" represented by these gold rushes to the placer diggings gave way in time to a more permanent type of mine with greater economic significance for the development of the area. The more important of these latter fields are not scattered widely over the region as

were the placer mines, but are highly concentrated. This has been of considerable significance in developing a point of dominance for the Region as a whole. Edwin Bates says of this area:

The Pacific Northwest has two major mining districts—the Coeur d'Alenes of Northern Idaho and the Silver Bow country in Montana where Butte is the center of production. Outside these areas the production of metallics and non-metallics is widely scattered in many small producing districts whose combined output, however, adds substantially to the purchasing power of this area.²

When one follows Mr. Bates' analysis of the output from the various sections of Washington, Idaho, and Montana, it becomes quite evident that except for manganese ore, the significant contributions from the Inland Empire Region are, at the present time, concentrated in the Coeur d'Alenes. This area, according to the survey quoted above, contributes 90 percent of the gold, copper, silver, lead and zinc produced in the state of Idaho. This production averaged \$27,338,615 annually in the five years from 1925 to 1929.³

At present some activity is found in the older gold fields of Florence, Warrens, Pierce City, Elk City, and other minor districts. This, generally, is limited to prospecting stimulated by unemployment and the government's policy in the purchase of gold, and is not of great importance in the economic development of the Region nor in the more permanent distribution of the population.

The mineral output of Washington in recent years has averaged approximately \$14,000,000 annually, of which \$9,000,000 has been derived from coal. The main coal fields of Washington lie either entirely outside the boundaries of the Inland Em-

² Edwin Bates, *Commercial Survey of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

pire Region or in a belt that might be termed a "no-man's land." These interstitial fields lie in an area which experiences a relatively equal pull from both the Inland Empire and Puget Sound Regions. Approximately 42 percent of the Washington output comes from mines owned by railroad companies and other utilities and is not distributed through the regional marketing channels.

The principal ore resources of Montana are, for the most part, south and east of the eastern boundary of the Region. Near Butte, Montana is the famous Anaconda copper area; and associated with it are the silver, zinc, and lead areas. While these mines lie outside the geographical boundaries of the Region, they have been second only to the Coeur d'Alene section in importance to Spokane as a market for goods and labor. From the standpoint of a labor market, mining has been surpassed by both lumbering and agriculture. Within the decade from 1920 to 1930, mining accounted for but 3.2 percent of the total number gainfully employed in the Region, while lumbering provided for 4 percent, and agriculture, 29.7 percent.

The discovery of the Coeur d'Alenes in 1884 and the opening of the mines near Butte soon after, came at an opportune time for Spokane and for the Region. The operation and expansion of these mines brought about large concentrations of population near the points of operation, thus creating an increased demand for economic goods. A market was created for machinery, building material, food, and supplies of various kinds. There was developed here a high degree of specialization and interdependence between the immediate mining centers and the various districts which provided the necessary supplies. The mines not only created a demand for goods, but provided wealth for the development of the hinterland.

Spokane, by virtue of its position, acted as an integrating point between these various specialized areas. The mining areas have, however, become of lesser importance in the symbiotic relations of the Region in recent years. While wealth provided by the mines was the prime factor for inaugurating the development of a vast number of resources, the value of these latter has eclipsed that of the mines which were first responsible for their development.

LUMBERING AND FOREST PRODUCTS

In the beds of the streams and rivers draining the forests of the Inland Empire was found the placer gold that stimulated the early migrations to the Region. Beneath the surface of the tree-clad mountains was found the ore which provided resources for a more stable economic development of a large section of the territory. These same mountains have produced millions of dollars of wealth in the form of lumber and other forest products which are lifting the Inland Empire to a place of importance in relation to other sections of the United States. In tracing the movement of the center of the lumber industry from New England and the Lake States to the Pacific Northwest, Edwin Bates finds that at the present time four states of the Pacific Northwest—Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon—produce 36 percent of the total lumber output of the nation. He believes that the vast resources in standing timber give assurance that this Northwest section will continue as one of the important sources of lumber supply of the country for many years to come.⁴

In Washington, Idaho, and Montana, the yearly average production from 1920 to 1929 was 7,776,808 M. feet, board

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

measure. Washington alone produced 83.1 percent. The Inland Empire Region, however, is not to be credited with the total production, for the most important lumber producing area of Washington lies west of the boundary of the Region. In Eastern Washington, however, especially in Ferry, Stevens, Chelan, Okanogan, Klickitat, and Kittitas counties, are found quite extensive tracts of timber. Other counties have stands of more or less importance. The major part of the commercial timber area of Montana lies within, or contiguous to, the natural area of the Region. The nine western counties of this state contain fifteen million acres of land, of which 79 percent is forest land. Fifty percent of this is in merchantable timber. These counties contain three-fourths of the fifty billion feet of timber in the state and manufacture 97 percent of the total lumber of the state. Of this total output 36 percent is shipped to points outside the state for consumption.

The state of Idaho has approximately 10,814,000 acres of forest land lying within the Region, of which 37 percent is merchantable timber. From this is produced 83 percent of the lumber of the state.

The forest products of these three states gives the lumbering industry of the Inland Empire Region a magnitude which attracts the markets of a wide area. Only a small portion of the total output, approximately 26 percent, is consumed locally, 74 percent being shipped to extra-regional markets to help form a far-flung web of trade in which the greatest contact is with the Middle West or the states between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi Valley.⁵

Lumbering has been of importance to the Region in its integration with other sections of the country, also in its internal

organization. During the pioneer period settlements rose on those sites having a favorable proximity to forest stands, resulting in a number of small mill towns being scattered promiscuously over the forested areas. Because of the ineffective means of transportation then available, these small communities showed little tendency toward integration.

A striking difference between the spatial distribution of the mills in the Inland Empire and those of its neighbor, the Puget Sound Region, may be noted. In the Puget Sound area most of the mills are concentrated along the arms of the Sound where they have easy access to water transportation. In the Inland Empire they have been scattered indiscriminately throughout the forested areas with no uniformity as to pattern of distribution.

With the advent of improved means of transportation, the lumber industry in the Inland Empire has tended to shift the relation of the settlements from that of independent communities to communal constellations. The mills are now located at some central point, about which are nucleated smaller logging camps which provide the mill with logs. The distribution and size of these constellations is determined in a large measure by the logging methods employed. The smaller mills depend upon teams or light trucks to transport the logs, which limits their operations to a relatively small territory surrounding the mill. The larger mills have their own railroad systems or other means of transportation to augment the teams and trucks, and transport logs from a much wider area.

The permanency of the communities established in these lumbering sections has been determined, to a large degree, by the extent and density of the original forest stand, the demand for lumber products, and the development of tech-

⁵ *Idaho Forest and Timber Handbook*, pp. 7-19.

niques and skills in exploiting these resources. Just as a community built up about a mine is destined to go into obsolescence when the vein of ore is exhausted, so the community built up about a saw mill declines when the neighboring territory has been deforested. There is this difference, however: within this Region the mining communities have usually been located in areas where the soil and climatic conditions, as well as the topography of the surrounding territory, did not lend themselves to other types of economic activity when the ore was exhausted, but the territory surrounding a number of the saw mills has been naturally conducive to the growth of vegetation and hence, once cleared of its forests, is ready for agricultural development. This succession in land utility may frequently save a community from decadence.

As a result of the exploitation of the timber resources in the Inland Empire Region, there are to be found towns that have depended upon lumber as their economic base, and now that the merchantable timber has been exhausted are faced with the necessity of finding a new base or being reduced to a fraction of their former importance. The decline may not be due entirely to the exhaustion of the timber resources; it may be the result of periodical slumps in the lumber market. In many of these towns the saw mill furnishes the sole income for a large part of the population, and should the mill close down for a long period, or even curtail its operations far below normal, these people must move elsewhere for employment, thus materially impairing many of the functions of the community.

In addition to the more permanent changes in these lumbering communities attributable to the declining economic base, there are seasonal shifts resulting in

a high mobility of population. Lumber has always been regarded in this area as a highly seasonal industry with a rapid labor turnover. Camps are established in the forests during the logging season, distributing the population over a wide area. At the close of the season the laborers are without employment and drift into the cities of this or some neighboring region. These cities act as storage basins for the casual laborers until such time as they migrate back to the camps.

The factors affecting possible trends in the economic base are important since they determine in a large measure the stability of existing markets. Any question as to the future of the Inland Empire Region with regard to the lumber industry, will of necessity have as points of reference a number of factors, such as the depletion of the virgin timber stands by lumbering; the heavy inroads of fire, insects, and disease; and the possibilities of reforestation and the use of lumber substitutes.

The situation obtaining in the Idaho forests, in so far as depletion by lumbering is concerned, is typical of the Region as a whole.

One striking point is that the private lands comprising only 17 per cent of the forest area and having only 30 per cent of the standing timber, furnish 72 per cent of the total annual cut. It is worth noting, too, that while only one-third of the existing stands are of the more valuable species, the two pines make up three-fifths of the total cut and practically 75 per cent of the saw log production. . . .

At the present rate of cutting, the virgin timber in private ownership will disappear in about thirty years and the more valuable species will naturally have gone before that. Young growth coming into merchantable size, if not destroyed by fire, will tend to lengthen this operation period. The ever increasing demands made upon the western forests will tend to hasten the end. . . .⁶

This gives some conception of the relative permanency of the lumbering in this

⁶ *Idaho Forest and Timber Handbook*, p. 56.

Region. The depletion of the timber is accentuated by the fact that 72 percent of the average yearly cut is from the private stands which comprise but 30 percent of the timber in the territory. As the timber resources of the Region are being depleted, other resources in the form of agriculture and stock raising are being developed more intensively to take their place.

AGRICULTURE AND STOCK RAISING

Agriculture, with its various branches presenting a highly varied picture, ranks first in economic importance in the Inland Empire. The physiographic features of the Region are such as to cause a wide range of diversification in the production of agricultural commodities. Edwin Bates, in describing the agricultural possibilities of the Pacific Northwest, says:

Its component parts include such contrasting conditions as the extensive areas of live stock raising . . . the wide grain fields of Eastern Washington, the highly intensive apple producing districts around Yakima and Wenatchee where one-fourth of the nation's commercial apple crop is produced, and the dairy and poultry producing areas. . . .

As these facts suggest, there is no single farming system which dominates the agriculture. At one and the same time, it is an area of market specialization and marked diversification is accomplished, not through a system of general farming such as prevails in eastern or middlewestern United States, but by specialization in relatively small producing areas. These areas are highly adapted to specialized production through their individual combinations of rainfall, length of growing season, soil, natural vegetation, location with relation to markets, and general climatic conditions. The sum total of these small specialized areas make this as a whole, a region of highly diversified crop and live stock production.⁷

This condition, which has been described as existing throughout the entire Pacific Northwest, is a highly accurate presentation of conditions in the Inland Empire Region in particular. This factor

⁷ Edwin Bates, *A Commercial Survey of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 10.

of district specialization has encouraged a high degree of integration for the Region. The exchange of Commodities produced in small specialized areas scattered throughout the territory has developed numerous markets requiring some central integrating point. For a long time transportation facilities have encouraged the flow of goods to Spokane as a point of distribution and exchange. In fact, the history of the development of this Region is the record of the growth of Spokane into a metropolitan community catering to a wide hinterland composed of a number of highly specialized areas.

A detailed study of each of these production areas would run into volumes. So, also, would a study of each of the commodities that have been important in the development of the Region. A few of the major commodities have been selected for consideration. These will be presented in relation to their effect upon population distribution and the marketing systems of the territory.

Of primary importance to such a study as this is a consideration of the manner in which the land is utilized for production, the distribution of the several areas, and the concentration of certain products which play an important rôle in the marketing systems. The United States Census of Agriculture for 1930 reported a total of 13,977,013 acres of land in farms in the Inland Empire. This farm land represented 34.4 percent of the total acreage of the Region. This census also reported 6,716,634 acres in crop during 1929.⁸ The area in crops comprised 40.8 percent of the total amount of land in farms. The amount of land actually in crops in 1929 was, therefore, but 11.2 percent of the total acreage of the Region.

⁸ This year has been chosen as the most representative period within the past two decades for which data are available.

The exact spatial distribution of this crop area is very difficult to determine. There are large forest areas with but an occasional small farming tract; also arid sections where insufficient rainfall and poor soil preclude the possibility of farming. The crop land outside these areas is interspersed with pasture and woodland on each farm.

From the standpoint of population distribution, the amount of land actually devoted to the production of crops is more important than the amount of land in farms. Less than one-half (40.8 percent) of the land in farms was devoted to crop production in 1929. This crop area varies from time to time due to the presence of large sections of marginal land which are withdrawn from production during periods of low prices. This is especially true of wheat land remote from the railroad. There are certain irrigation lands, also, which are withdrawn from production during periods of water shortage.

WHEAT

While the various types of land—farms, pasture, woodland, and waste—are more or less interspersed, resulting in a certain amount of diversified farming, there are large areas in which specialized crops predominate. The most important of these since the period of early settlement has been wheat.

In 1864 the discovery was made in the Walla Walla country that wheat and other cereals could be raised on the hills as well as on the lowlands where the territory was very limited.⁹ With this

⁹ Snowden maintains that the discovery that wheat could be grown on the hills was of more significance to the future of the Inland Empire than all the gold that was discovered in the Region, or would be discovered in the future. Prior to this, the territory had been on the receiving end. There was an incoming commerce. Nothing had been produced in the Region and shipped out except gold. Clinton A. Snowden, *History of Washington*, IV, ch. 51.

discovery, a great impetus was given to the agricultural industry, and grass lands hitherto given over to stock raising were now devoted to the growing of wheat. New settlers were attracted to the territory to engage in this industry, which now provided a greater allurements than the mines. Wheat farms were developed on a large scale, first in the cool, humid districts to the south and east of the Columbia Plateau and foot hill regions, and later extended into the districts to the north and west, notably in the Big Bend country. The greatest wheat sections at the present are the Palouse, Walla Walla, and Camas Prairie districts.

Wheat farming affects the distribution of population and services, regional integration,¹⁰ and the social organization of the various communities where it is the dominant type of agriculture. Practically all the farm operations on the wheat ranches of the Inland Empire prior to 1910 were carried on by man and horse power. All the farm machinery was horse drawn; and the use of labor-saving devices on the farm and in the farm home was not extensive. Under this system, the amount of land a farmer could till without the aid of hired help did not exceed 80 or 160 acres. He had his choice of limiting his farm and doing all of the work himself with the aid of his family, or of increasing his acreage and depending upon hired help. That the latter practice was general is indicated by the fact that the model size farm in the major wheat producing areas of the Region in 1910 fell in the class from 260 to 499 acres. The general practice was to oper-

¹⁰ Flour manufactured from the soft wheat grown here is not used extensively in the western or northern sections of the United States, but in the South where most pastries are used, there is a demand for flour grown from the western soft wheat, thus creating a market for the mills of this Region and thus forming an inter-regional symbiotic tie.

ate 320 acres, or the half section, as it was known among the farmers.

Since most of the work was seasonal, large numbers of casual laborers were drawn to the farm community. The demand for additional help began in the spring with plowing and seeding. This was followed by a period of relative inactivity, during which the demand for help was considerably reduced and a number of laborers were "turned off." The next demand for extra labor began with "haying" and continued with increased acceleration until it reached its climax in the grain harvest, when for a short period of time maximum numbers were employed. These men were released again at the close of the harvest to seek work in other sections, or to migrate to the cities of this and neighboring regions to swell the throng of migratory laborers who congregate in these storage centers during the winter to await a new cycle of employment the following spring. Successive waves of migratory workers passed over this Region each year, who, because of their high mobility, contributed little or nothing to the social life of the various communities, except probably to cause some disturbances in the way of labor disputes. This has been especially true of the group known as the I.W.W. This group was the source of no small amount of labor trouble during the harvest seasons from about 1905 until 1915.

This condition began to change in the wheat growing sections about 1910 with the coming of the farm tractor, the automobile truck, and the combine. The shift from man and animal power to mechanical power, and from the old threshing machine to the combine, revolutionized wheat growing. The opportunity for employment for a large number of these casual laborers has been eliminated. The amount of land which a single farmer can

till without the aid of extra help has been greatly increased. This, in turn, has brought about several important results. It has caused an immigration of the farmer's children from the farm to the city or town to engage in some other occupation. It has reduced the number of farm operators on wheat farms and has brought about the movement from the farm to the city that so many social reformers have decried and have attempted to account for in terms of the undesirability of the farm home as compared to the city.

The farm children, especially the young men, under the former system of farming remained on the land to work in coöperation with the father and perhaps to succeed him in its management. In numerous instances large farms were divided among the children, each taking an "eighty" or a "quarter section," depending on the size of the farm, the type of soil, and the size of the family. In this manner, these people remained an integral part of the community life and organization. Under the modern system of farming which makes use of a number of labor-saving devices, the children are not needed on the farm. In fact, there is nothing for them to do, and, as a consequence, they are forced out into other lines of activity. The attractiveness or unattractiveness of the farm has very little, if anything, to do with their leaving. The present high land-values and the absence of any free land make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to establish themselves on other farms in the community.

The result of this mechanization of farm operations has been to increase the number of large farms and to decrease the actual farm population engaged in the major operations of wheat raising. The trend becomes evident when one compares the change in the size of farms in the major wheat producing counties during

the period from 1910 to 1930. It is most evident in, although not limited to, Adams, Lincoln, Whitman in Washington and to Idaho Counties. In these districts the percentage of farms with 100 to 174 acres and those with 260 to 499 acres has declined, but the percentage of farms of 500 acres or over shows a sharp increase. The smaller farms are being absorbed by the larger. The farms which have suffered the greatest loss from this concentration of farming activities have been those of the 160 acre type, or the "quarter" as it is usually designated. This is the size farm that may be considered the "subsistence homestead" and back bone of the farming industry in this Region for a long period. Its disappearance has significant consequences for the stability of farming in the Region at the present time. The farm under one hundred acres in area is too small for the extensive application of farm driven machinery so that mechanization of farming has had little effect upon it. Then, too, it does not attract the attention of the farmer seeking land to lease because when space is deducted for farm buildings, yard, orchard, etc., the remaining area is too small to be utilized to advantage with other extensive areas.

There are a number of significant consequences growing out of the process by which the larger farms have been absorbing the smaller. In most instances each farm absorbed represents a home from which some farmer has moved with his family. The ultimate destination of this farmer is difficult to determine. That he does not remain in the community seems evident from the presence of abandoned and rapidly deteriorating farm homes throughout the Region. He evidently does not move to the neighboring village, for almost without exception the villages in the wheat growing sections

have decreased in population during the past two decades.¹¹

The fact of farmers moving from the community means the loss of constituents for the general store and other economic and social institutions of the village and countryside. Since the families of these farmers have been moving from the community, the one-room school houses which have been distributed over the Region since the days of the early settlements, are being torn down or used as farm buildings. The crossroads church has suffered the same fate. While the factor of transportation cannot be overlooked as contributing to these changes, it is the declining farm population which has been the major factor.

IRRIGATION

Wheat has been grown almost exclusively on land adapted to dry farming methods. The Inland Empire, however, contains large areas where the rainfall is not sufficient for the growth of crops by this method, which yet produce large yields when irrigated. These irrigated sections are very important because of their complementary relation to the dry farming and grazing areas. Irrigation is being promoted wherever a sufficient supply of water is available.

The Yakima, Wenatchee, Entiat, Chelan, Methow, and Okanogan Rivers, with their tributaries, furnish water for about 80 percent of the total irrigated area of the Inland Empire Region. The Yakima and its tributaries supply about 64 percent of the area in Washington. The Spokane and Colville Rivers are being used to a great extent, the former now watering about 470,000 acres.¹² The

¹¹ R. R. Martin. "Village Changes in the Pacific Northwest," *Social Forces*, 15, p. 540.

¹² Lewis and Miller, *Economic Resources of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 41.

Snake and its tributaries, the Clearwater and Salmon, furnish the greatest part of the irrigation in Northern Idaho. The Columbia River is not available, in general, for irrigation by gravity, as the river bed is at too great a depth below the level of the surrounding land. Where it is used at all, the water is raised by pumps which make it impractical for large areas. It is estimated that the Columbia River system can supply water to irrigate 11,000,000 acres, or 7,129,000 more than are being irrigated at the present time.¹³

Irrigation in this Region has had an interesting history. It was first practiced in the Yakima Valley about one hundred years ago by the Indians. It was taken up by the white people in 1867, being applied to small tracts of land. Irrigation was given a great impetus by the building of the main Sunnyside canal in the Yakima Valley which was started by private capital in 1890. The Reclamation Act of 1902, the first act of the Federal Government in this matter, made Federal assistance possible. Since that time, irrigation has developed rapidly in this and other sections of the Region.

There were 352,572 acres irrigated in the Region in 1919, which represented an increase of 11,137 acres, or 3.2 percent, over the area irrigated a decade prior to this which was 341,435 acres. During the decade from 1919 to 1929 there was a rapid development, placing the total number of acres under irrigation by the latter date at 500,680. This represents an increase of 148,110 acres or 42.2 percent over the amount irrigated in 1919, and 46.6 percent since 1909.

There is a significant difference between the size of farms under irrigation and those in "dry land" farming, particularly those devoted to wheat raising. In 1909 the

average size of farms under irrigation was 43 acres. In 1918 this had been reduced to 26.3 and in 1929 increased slightly to 29.5 acres.

Chelan County, where farming is largely under irrigation, furnishes a good example of the situation existing in many of the irrigated districts. The model farm here falls in the group between 10 and 19 acres in size. When this is compared with Lincoln County, devoted entirely to dry farming, where the model size falls in the group between 500 and 999 acres, the difference in the two methods of farming, with the consequent difference in population distribution, becomes evident. The increased population brought about by the development of small farms has resulted in the towns and villages of these irrigated areas either increasing or at least remaining stable during the past decade, while those in the wheat sections have generally lost in population. One also finds a much smaller degree of tenancy on the irrigated farms than on the wheat farms.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLES

The principal crops grown on the irrigated lands consist of fruit, vegetables, and alfalfa. In the Yakima Valley some grain is produced by means of irrigation, although this practice is not usually followed in the irrigated sections of this Region. The production of vegetables other than potatoes is highly concentrated in three districts: Spokane, Yakima, and Walla Walla Counties. The reason for this concentration seems to lie in the marketing situation. Spokane offers a central market for the merchantable vegetables produced within its immediate hinterland, either for supplying the local demands, or for shipment to the Coeur d'Alenes and other markets. The Walla Walla district which because of soil and

¹³ Federal Bulletin No. 200, U. S. Department of Agriculture, pp. 11-18.

climate is particularly adapted to this type of farming, has a relatively easy access to Spokane, Portland, or Seattle as trade outlets. Yakima is directly associated with Seattle markets.

APPLES

The most important fruit crop in the irrigated sections of this Region is apples. The apple orchards in Okanogan County are confined to a narrow strip of land along the Okanogan River and in the Methow Valley; in Chelan County along the Wenatchee and Entiat Rivers; and in Yakima and Benton Counties along the Yakima Valley. In the two latter counties, however, orchards are more widely distributed than in the others. While there is a wide distribution of orchards throughout a number of other counties, the commercial production comes largely from these sections. The Wenatchee Valley is credited with producing one-fourth of the nation's commercial apples. In 1923, 1926, and 1927, Washington ranked first among all the states of the union in the production of apples, while New York was second. Since most of the commercial apples are sold as fresh fruit and can be stored only for a limited time, this commodity provides an important market contact with other regions. Quantities of apples are taken from these valleys by motor truck and delivered directly to the consumer in this and neighboring regions. A large volume, however, is transported by rail; the quantities shipped in this manner during 1925, 1926 and 1927 being 35,046, 133,543, and 93,068 carloads respectively. The ultimate destination of these shipments covered practically the entire world.¹⁴

The nature of apple production is such as to encourage the development of large

market centers. Apples cannot be marketed directly from the orchard as grain from the fields, but must be sorted, graded, and packed. This preparation for market requires a certain degree of skill demanding particular types of workers. It also requires the use of machinery too expensive to be provided on every farm. As a result, most of the crop is centralized at some point on the railroad where this preparation is made. Then, too, apples require special storage for varying periods of time while they are waiting to be shipped to the different markets. These factors tend to build centers which specialize in the function of preparation for market, storage, and distribution as the demands of the season require.

Modern storage facilities which enable the process just described to be extended over a considerable period of time, have aided, at least to some small degree, in taking away from apple culture its seasonal aspects; that is, the work of caring for a particular crop can be extended over a longer period of time than in days when all of it had to be done on the individual farm within a few weeks after the apples were ready for gathering.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION

The possibilities of future development of irrigation in this Region are very great. Practically every project now operating has potential possibilities for further development. In the portion of the Region located in Washington, there were in 1929, 893,667 acres actually being irrigated. This leaves in these enterprises alone, 404,301 acres yet to be developed as the general economic conditions justify or demand.

The Columbia Basin irrigation project lying within the "Big Bend" and em-

¹⁴ Bureau of Railway Economics, Bulletin No. 34, Washington, D. C., 1929.

bracing largely the counties of Franklin, Adams, and Grant, offers a vast opportunity for the extension of irrigation in this Region. It is proposed in this project to irrigate approximately one and three quarter million acres of what is now semi-arid land incapable of producing successive crops. This land is readily adaptable to irrigation practices, the soil is of good quality, and climatic conditions such that with sufficient water, profitable yields may be expected from a variety of crops. The basin to be irrigated is surrounded by the wheat lands of the Big Bend, Palouse, and Walla Walla districts. These wheat fields occupy the ridges or table lands which surround and constitute the rim of the basin, the radius of which is nearly one hundred miles. Encircling the basin on the west is the Columbia River and west from the Columbia lie the Yakima, Wenatchee, and Okanogan Rivers with their tributary valleys which, together with the Spokane, Snake River, and Walla Walla sections, constitute a zone of choice productive fruit lands.

This proposed development, when realized, will be of great importance to the Inland Empire in the increased economic production and increased population calling for added institutions, markets, and other services. Although it is sparsely populated at the present time, this area should be capable, when irrigated, of supporting an agricultural population of at least a half million producers. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in an address made at the Coulee Dam, August 4, 1934, said:

"There is a great opportunity out here for even people in the East, in the South, and in some parts of the Middle West, from sub-marginal lands, who have proved pretty conclusively that it is a mighty difficult thing for them to earn an adequate living on these lands. . . . I know that this country that looks pretty barren is going to be filled with, not only a great many people from this state, [Washington]

but with a great many families from other states of the Union. . . .

LIVE STOCK

The economic base of the Inland Empire is not confined to products taken directly from the soil. In addition to the income from these crops, millions of dollars of new wealth is added to the Region each year from live stock such as cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses. Very few areas are given over exclusively to the production of any of these. The major part of this production consists in small numbers produced on each farm. The production of horses and mules has decreased constantly for the past two decades because of the increasing amount of mechanical power used in farming operations, and the use of the automobile and motor truck for transportation. A significant result of this shift from horse to mechanical power has frequently been overlooked. When horses were used exclusively for farm operation a part of the crop on every farm was utilized for feed. As horses were displaced, the products formerly consumed by them were thrown upon a market already nearing the point of saturation. This, so far as marketing is concerned, has had the same effect as increasing the production by that amount and placing it on the market to be turned into cash with which to purchase tractors, trucks, and other farm machinery and to provide gas and oil and other added operating expenses. The significance of this becomes evident when we realize that the number of horses and mules in the United States decreased approximately six and one-fourth millions between 1920 and 1930 and, as it takes about four and one-half acres to produce feed for a horse or a mule, some twenty-seven million acres, once growing hay for feed, have been put to wheat and other products of which there is already a surplus.

The cattle industry has gone through some interesting changes since the Region was first settled. The first cattle were brought into the territory to supply meat and dairy products for those immediately associated with the trading posts. When the mines were opened bringing great invasions of miners, the increased demand for meat stimulated the production of beef cattle in the sections near Walla Walla and other territories contiguous to the mines. The open range covered with bunch grass, provided ideal conditions for cattle raising. As these grass lands were broken up and used for farming, cattle raising receded to marginal lands. The coming of the automobile and motor truck pushed the marginal lands back and forced the cattle raiser yet farther to the waste lands and forest reservations. This has led to the establishment of symbiotic relations between the grazing lands and the irrigated farms specializing in the production of alfalfa and corn. This fact accounts for the large number of beef cattle in Okanogan and Yakima Counties, where more or less grazing land is available in relatively close proximity to the irrigated lands. In the late autumn or early winter, the cattle are removed from the grazing lands and taken to the valleys, where, during the winter months, they are fed the hay that has been produced by irrigation.

Dairy cattle are more widely distributed than the beef cattle. Almost every farm has at least a sufficient number of cows to provide the necessary milk, cream, and butter, for family use. On the diversified farms, the dairy cow provides a sizable portion of the money needed to maintain the household. The principal concentrations of dairy cattle are found in the area near Spokane, or on the routes leading directly into Spokane, and in the Yakima

Valley, where there is a relatively high concentration of population.

On almost every farm of the Region a few hogs are raised to provide meat for the family, and to supplement the income from the sale of the meat, or live hogs. This is particularly true of the smaller diversified farms where the largest concentration of swine production is found. What is true of hogs is true also, though to a lesser degree, of sheep. A number of farms in the logged off and other diversified sections keep small bands of sheep. The large commercial bands so prevalent in this Region in an early day have been forced back to marginal lands bordering the Big Bend section and the areas near the national forests.

This survey which has included the principal basic products of the Inland Empire sketches in broad outline the fundamental foundation for the marketing complex of this vast area with its numerous specialized districts. It is evident that, with reference to the producing areas, this region does not possess the degree of concentration to be found in some other sections of the country, e.g., the Puget Sound Region which lies immediately to the west, numerous areas of the Middle West, or the South. This is the result of topography and natural resources. In the Puget Sound Region, for example, the areas supplying the major products that have played an important rôle in the development and integration of the Region are highly concentrated in the area immediately contiguous to Seattle. The nature of the resources are such as to require a dominant marketing center which is provided by Seattle. A large part of the lumber and forest products providing the first economic base was exported. This called for their collection at a major port, with the consequent development of

Seattle as an economic center exerting a high degree of dominance over the surrounding territory.

The Inland Empire does not have such a concentration of producing areas immediately contiguous to a central marketing point or locus. The production areas are widely scattered and widely diversified, and the transportation facilities during the early history of the area made it difficult to collect the products at any central point within the Region. This condition has never been entirely overcome.

Another factor to be considered is the nature of the products and the size of the areas producing them. Many of the products of the Inland Empire lend themselves to movement by car, or even train-load lots, and may be shipped directly from the point of production to the ultimate consumer market without requiring the services of any central agency which exercises the function of collecting, storing, or processing.

With the increase of diversified agricultural activities carried on in small units, such as truck gardening, soft fruit culture, poultry raising, and dairying, a new type of regional integration is appearing. These products being of smaller bulk relative to value, and produced in smaller quantities, must be collected from a much wider area and concentrated at some central point where they are prepared for marketing. Many of them require pro-

cessing also, and storage, which adds to the functions of the central point. This leads to the development of a few large centers, all of which may in turn be integrated to one dominant marketing center of the Region.

In respect to points of integration, this Region has experienced something of a cycle. During the period prior to the coming of the railroads in the 1880's, the only market for the farmer's produce was at Walla Walla, which served as a supply point for the mines of Montana and Idaho, and Spokane, where goods were gathered to supply the mines in that vicinity. With the coming of the transcontinental railroads to connect the Region with markets lying beyond its boundaries, Spokane became the locus of integration for a much wider area, and was the most important center in the entire territory. Later with the development of wheat growing and stock raising on a scale that permitted train load shipments from small areas, any point on the railroad regardless of size, served adequately as a shipping point for goods that would go directly to terminal markets, and Spokane lost some of its importance as a central market. Now, with the coming of the type of production referred to above, Spokane is regaining much of its importance as a collecting and distributing point, yet it must share this function with Wenatchee, Yakima, Walla Walla, and to a lesser degree with Lewiston.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CONFERENCE ON BUSINESS EDUCATION

The Sixth Conference on Business Education, sponsored by the School of Business of the University of Chicago, will be held at the University on June 29 and 30.

Previous conferences have been largely devoted to the problem of reconstruction of secondary school business education and the development of the outlines of a fundamental type of business education. The present conference is an outgrowth of previous conferences in that a beginning will be made on the task of developing criteria by which administrative officers and teachers may evaluate the offerings in business in their own school situations.

Detailed announcement of the program and personnel of the conference will be made at a later date.

ADMINISTERING SOCIAL SECURITY

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NO PARTICULAR group among the people have a monopoly on security. Insecurity haunts nearly every individual. In one form or another it always has. When the country lay open and unexploited, a man's security depended on his own strong arm, the sharpness of his axe, and a straight shooting eye. Occasionally his neighbors came in to coöperate in log-rolling. The insecurity that plagued these people was not economic, that is to say, they did not want opportunities to make a living by work. Industrialism and municipalization have created economic insecurity which, as just stated, is quite general among the people. The professional man is not so sure of the continued demand for his services. The banker wants security on loans. Lack of security has caused many banks and business houses to fail. The teacher on a yearly contract does not feel secure about his job. Insecurity is greatly intensified among wage-earners who work by the hour. His insecurity is hourly. With him security means continued opportunity to work; his great boon is job security, while able to work, and a reasonable hope of care when he gets sick or grows old.

Statistics show clearly the extent of insecurity. Further comment will then indicate the recent efforts to establish security for the people.

THE STATISTICS OF INSECURITY

Unemployment is a major cause of insecurity. It is estimated that a million or more men are out of work when times are good. This number is greatly increased when the business cycle takes a downward

dip; the total number in 1933, according to a conservative estimate, reaching 13.5 million.¹ Second only to unemployment as a cause of insecurity is old age. Because of a decrease in immigration and in the birth rate the population is growing older. In 1860, 2.7 percent of the total population were 65 years and older. In 1930 the percentage increased to 5.4, and by 1940 there will be over 8 million or 6.3 percent of the total population 65 and over. This presents a problem in insecurity, since reliable estimates list one-half the people of this age as dependents.² Well, why don't they save is the statement often heard among those smugly secure on a decent and stable income. The answer to this foolish remark is that three-fourths of the non-farm families do not receive an income sufficient to provide an adequate diet.³ In 1929, at the height of gilded prosperity, 71 percent of American families of 2 or more persons received an annual income below \$2,500; 42 percent had incomes less than \$1,500, and over one-fifth of the total families made incomes below \$1,000, a year. Only 10 percent of American households were in comfortable circumstances with incomes above \$5,000 a year.⁴ A more recent survey, *Consumers Income in the United States* by the National Resources Committee, portrays vividly the present unequal distribution of the aggregate income in the United States: "Nearly one-third (32 percent) of the total

¹ *Social Security in America*, a report to the Committee on Economic Security, pp. 55-72 (1937).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 137-154.

³ *America's Capacity to Consume*, by staff of the Institute of Economics of The Brookings Institution, pp. 121-124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

number of families and single individuals had incomes under \$750, nearly one-half (47 percent) received less than \$1,000, and more than two-thirds (69 percent) received less than \$1,500. At the other end of the income scale, about 2 percent had incomes of \$5,000 and over, and less than 1 percent incomes of \$10,000 and over."

Unemployment, low income, and an inadequate diet multiplies insecurity, because it results in poor health. As we have seen, the manual worker bears far more than his share of the nation's illness and death rate. Disabling diseases among the families of unemployed workers is depressingly high, reaching 73 percent higher than among families that enjoy reasonable security. Sufficient surveys have been made to justify the Committee on Economic Security's board statement that a "substantial proportion of families in cities, towns and rural areas actually obtain no medical care, or receive insufficient care during sickness."⁵

THE PHILOSOPHY OF INSECURITY

One may present cold statistics to show the extent of economic insecurity, but these facts fail to show the actual psychological and physiological results expressed in depressed morale and in the mental and physical deterioration of the people. While exact measurements of

this kind are impossible, sufficient illustrative cases have been gathered⁶ to show what a benefit to working people of all rank a plan of social security would bring.

At the very outset, however, one finds a direct, adequate security program difficult to achieve because of the compromises those in political authority feel they must make with our economic and constitutional order. Almost exactly opposed to the ideal of social security is the idea that our economic system must be flexible which requires an amount of economic insecurity. Our economic order, it is said, is based on the private ownership and use of property for profit. Only those therefore who produce or have something to sell may expect any profit. The person who has no property must perforce sell his labor in order to live. And he needs to feel the pinch of hunger, to be confronted with the spectre of insecurity to force him to accept such adjustments in his wage scale and standard of living as may be necessary to keep industry running in its wonted way. In other words the worker must be ready at all times to take in his sails when the economic system is not blowing prosperity. And the point is, the precariousness of the people's living is the price of economic flexibility.

Our program of social security must compromise with the economic system. That is to say, it should not be made too attractive. In fact certain features should be downright unpleasant. This philosophy of security may therefore be stated something like this:⁷ (1) Make the standards of security so low that they will not interfere with profitable production. (2)

⁵ *Social Security in America*, op. cit., p. 316.

Among representative family groups and expressed in percentages 67 per cent of the persons in the income class of ten thousand or more a year receive a physician's care during the year; 45 percent of those with incomes between \$1,200 and \$2,000 receive the physician's services; while among those whose income is below \$1,200 more than one-third who get sick go without the doctor's care. cf. Maxwell Stewart, *Social Security*, p. 59. For recent facts on the Nation's health, cf. the Report of the National Health Conference July, 18-20, 1938, called by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities.

⁶ Cf. E. M. Burns, *Toward Social Security*; M. Stewart, op. cit.; I. M. Rubinow, *The Quest for Social Security*.

⁷ Burns, op. cit., chaps. 7-10.

Provide pleasant security only for a selected few; to these security will go as a right. (3) Make it unpleasant, that is, require the recipients to take the needs test that will publicize his poverty. Besides compromising in this way with the economic order, a social security program must be built to fit in with the constitutional system. This means that in a federal system composed of semi-autonomous, quasi-sovereign commonwealths, concessions have to be made to States' rights.

The National Social Security Act⁸ is a good example of compromises with the economic and constitutional order; a fact which some of its ardent critics should understand. This Act, which is the United States Government's first major attack on the "hazards and vicissitudes" of life, provides partial security under four principal categories: (1) unemployment compensation or job insurance, (2) old age insurance, (3) public assistance, and (4) public welfare. A brief review of these titles of the Social Security Act will open the way for a general then the more detailed description of administration that follows.

TOWARD SOCIAL SECURITY

Subtle pressure is brought by Titles III and IX of the Social Security Act to get unemployment compensation laws in each State. The first is the offer to share administrative costs, the second urge to action is the credit offset of 90 percent on a Federal 3 percent payroll tax levied on all employers of eight or more persons who have contributed to an approved State unemployment compensation law. The State must, of course, meet certain conditions before its law is approved by the Social Security Board, and, furthermore, it must meet another set of condi-

tions to get the money for administrative costs.⁹ The effect of this pressure has been to get in each State a variety of unemployment compensation laws, but generally agreed on principles, one being that compensation shall be the right of a selected number of employees.

Titles II and VIII of the Social Security Act create a strictly Federal plan of old age insurance as a right to a selected number of workers who have reached the age of 65.¹⁰ To qualify an employee must work at something over a five year period, and have received a total of \$2,000 in wages. His annuity is computed on the total wages received from 1936 to the time of his retirement, not counting wages in excess of \$3,000 a year. Under this plan it is possible for an employee to retire on a monthly income of \$10 to \$85. For support of the annuity fund an excise tax 3 percent is levied on employers, and a similar amount is levied on the employees' income.

Titles I, IV, and X of the Act provide public assistance to the needy aged, dependent children, and the needy blind. These provisions encourage Federal-State coöperation according to the principles of grant-in-aid. Public assistance is based on the test of need, which in effect means that to be eligible a person must take the pauper's oath. Assistance to the needy is financed out of general taxes.

Finally the Social Security Act refers to the public welfare in those titles that make grants to the States for maternal and child welfare, and for extension of public health work. Administration of these

⁹ Cf. Titles III, IX. Further discussion of this matter is found under title of Job Security in the pages that follow.

¹⁰ Those excluded are: (1) agricultural labor, (2) domestic service in private homes, (3) casual labor, (4) employees of vessels, (5) public employees, (6) employees of religious, charitable, educational, scientific, and literary organizations.

⁸ 49 Stat. L. 620, 1935.

provisions is entirely outside the Social Security Board's obligations under the Law.¹¹

ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

For carrying out the purposes of the Act, the Social Security Board and the Office of Executive Director have been provided.¹² Several older executive departments cooperate with the Social Security Board in administering the program. The Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department collects the taxes imposed by the Act, and the Public Health Service of the same Department apportions the money provided under Title VI for assisting the States in their health work. In the Interior Department, the Office of Education administers Title V, which provides assistance to the States for vocational rehabilitation. The Post Office Department was of great service in the initial registering of employees. Two bureaus of the Department of Labor cooperate in administering the Act; the Childrens Bureau has charge of the maternal and child health services, services to crippled children, and the child-welfare provisions; and the United States Employment Service is brought in to help with unemployment compensation.

At the very outset, there was talk of having the Labor Department administer the major portions of the Act. But further consideration led to the decision to set up an entirely new and separate agency, and the deliberative function scored when the choice was made of a board instead of a single administrator. However, a large part of the work of this agency is ad-

ministering, where the qualities of efficiency and promptness usually associated with the single director type of organization are desirable. It was for this reason that there was created the Office of Executive Director who in his relation to the Social Security Board is in a rôle analogous to that of the superintendent of schools to the school board, or the city manager to the council. The Executive Director has immediate administrative supervision of the Board's service and operating bureaus, and of the twelve regional offices.

The decentralization necessary for administering a law of the scope of the Social Security Act in a country as vast as the United States is had in the regional offices, and in the State governments.

All titles to the Act, except old age insurance, are administered on a Federal-State cooperative basis, with the major administrative responsibility resting with the States. In unemployment compensation the Federal Government removes obstacles to State administration. The States are entirely responsible for administering the public assistance provisions which are based on the familiar practices developed in earlier Federal aid acts, for example, the highway, health, vocational rehabilitation, maternal and child-health services.

While the States are responsible for administering the major portions of the Act, the Social Security Board is accountable for carrying out Congress' policy. And it is not without means of doing this. "To fulfill its responsibilities to Congress, the Board found it necessary to establish regulations, a reporting system, inspectional procedures, auditing and accounting controls, and other devices. In making decisions on these problems, the objective of the Board has been to establish safeguards adequate to protect the national interest without infringing on the freedom

¹¹ Cf. Titles V, VI.

¹² Cf. 2 Annual Report Social Security Board. (1937) opposite page 95 for a functional chart. For a better insight into the administering of the Social Security Act, the writer is indebted to the volume on *The Social Security Act in Operation* by B. E. Wyatt, and W. H. Wandel.

of action necessary to State administration." Federal-State coöperation in administering a plan of Social Security makes use of the States' public welfare agencies which are acquainted with local conditions. Another advantage is that it makes use of the well known principle of the States as experimental laboratories.¹³ Besides, a coöperative plan, as provided in the grant-in-aid system, does not so brusquely affront States' rights, avoids the worst forms of centralization, and the ubiquitous Federal man.

For the purpose of securing better coöperation with the States, as well as for freeing itself of an inevitable burden of administrative details, the Social Security Board established twelve geographical regions with offices in accessible places.¹⁴ It is good psychology to bring the administration of social security close to the people affected. As we shall see presently, specific provisions of the Act are administered at the local government level. For administering old age insurance the Social Security Board has also found it convenient, in addition to the regional offices, to open in different places over one hundred field offices. These offices are under the general supervision of the regional offices. As just mentioned,

¹³ Annual Report Social Security Board (1936) p. 8. "... the Nation is today utilizing the 'experimental workshops' to test many competing theories concerning ways and means of providing unemployment compensation."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, page 5. "These regional offices provide requisite services to the coöperating States, coördinate activities of the Board located within their respective regional areas, and furnish information to individuals affected by the Social Security Act. To insure the efficient administration of State plans for public assistance and of State unemployment compensation laws, and to aid States requesting service in setting up plans of administration, the Board maintains in each regional office a regional attorney and a staff of statisticians and experts in public assistance, unemployment compensation, and old-age benefits."

each regional office is in charge of a director responsible to the Board's Executive Director. Also each of the Social Security Board's service and operating bureaus keep in the regional offices permanent representatives who serve the regional director as technical advisers, and direct their respective bureau's field activities.

Back in Washington the Social Security Board has set up service, and operating bureaus; the former consisting of the bureaus of accounts and audits, business management, informational service, research and statistics, and the offices of the general counsel and the actuary.¹⁵

Their names indicate the general character of the work of the service bureaus. The business management bureau is of especial importance as it deals among other things with the personnel problem. Administration of social security demands expert and experienced employees with a sympathetic understanding of the program. Both the Federal Government in administering old age insurance, and the States that administer the other security titles were handicapped from the beginning, because there existed no pool from which to draw such personnel. In the initial stages of setting up its organization, the Social Security Board had the coöperation of the United States Civil Service Commission. Since that time the Board's personnel policy has been built upon a system of examinations, personnel records and promotions, and especially by its in-service training has the Social Security Board maintained a personnel for staffing its various divisions and offices.¹⁶

In terminology the Board's operating Bureaus correspond to the major divisions of the Act, namely, unemployment compensation or job security, old age in-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

¹⁶ Cf. 2 Annual Report (1937) pp. 70-72; also, Wyatt and Wandel, *op. cit.* pp. 23-27.

surance, and public assistance. A study of the Social Security Board's administrative activities may be developed around each of these operating bureaus. However, as we have seen, a topical survey that attempts a rounded picture of the administration of security must pay some attention to those Federal agencies that cooperate with the Social Security Board, and especially to the State governments that are chiefly responsible for administering all except one of the features of the social security program.

ADMINISTERING THE PROGRAM

Job Security

Government's policy as to job security has settled on three closely related things: (1) finding jobs, (2) making jobs, and (3) unemployment insurance to bridge the inevitable gap between jobs.

Employment Service.—Helping the person out of work to find a job is definitely a public service. In 1933 the Congress established the United States Employment Service as a separate bureau in the Department of Labor.¹⁷ Upon this new agency was placed the responsibility of promoting and developing a national system of employment offices. This general task was to be discharged by cooperating with the State governments. The well worn system of grants-in-aid is used to encourage the States to establish employment offices, and then to affiliate with the United States Employment Service. In this joint program the National Service becomes largely an agency to coordinate public employment offices established locally,

to prescribe and assist in setting up minimum standards of efficiency, to promote uniformity in the administrative procedure of the local offices, and to maintain a labor clearance system among the States. A State, of course, must meet certain conditions before it can affiliate with the National Service, and get the money provided for member agencies. One of the uniform minimum standards required of State affiliates is the application of the merit system for selecting personnel to staff the numerous employment offices established throughout the country. Since so many of the States are without facilities for selecting personnel according to the competitive principles of the merit system, the United States Employment Service found it necessary to employ examiners to conduct the examinations for filling the administrative posts in the State employment offices.¹⁸

In the States, the employment service is generally coordinated with the agency that administers the unemployment compensation law. Unity of administration of these services is essential because of the provision in the Social Security Act that unemployment benefits must be paid through the public employment offices—a matter discussed further below. Public employment service is brought into nearly every community by a series of branch offices. A worker need not therefore go to any inconvenience to register at the employment office. But he must register for two reasons (1) to indicate that he is out of work, looking for a job, and (2) if after a certain time he cannot get a job it is through this office that he collects his unemployment benefits which come to him as a right.

In Washington, the United States Employment Service operates through two

¹⁷ Although in a separate department both the United States Employment Service and the Social Security Board act as a single agency in all matters affecting State employment service. cf. *Coordination of Employment Service and Unemployment Compensation Administration*, an address by A. J. Altmeyer, Chairman Social Security Board, May 6, 1937.

¹⁸ 25 Annual Report Department of Labor (1937) p. 20.

major divisions, and in the field the Service has a staff of representatives who assist the directors of the affiliate State offices in their administrative problems. The division of operations "approves operating agreements with the States, conducts 'compliance surveys' to assure maintenance of standards," and controls the Service's field-work activities. The division of standards and research develops the forms and procedures used in the States, and conducts research in employment problems.¹⁹

Making Jobs.—The National Administration's policy toward the unemployed has developed from the sentimental slogan "they shall not starve" to the concrete philosophy that the Federal Government's obligation is to provide jobs for the employable unemployed.

First in the field was RFC with loans which later were changed to outright grants to the States and localities for emergency relief.²⁰ In the FERA the Federal Government's responsibility for relief was more definitely assumed, and followed both the policy of direct and of work relief.²¹ While administered locally, the funds for FERA were largely supplied by the Federal Government. Next in line in the march of the alphabeticals was CWA, set up to take care of the hard winter of 1933-4, by providing a Federally administered work relief program.²² At an expenditure of nearly a

billion dollars, CWA put to work over four million persons on projects of varied character from raking leaves (boondoggling) to more substantial work on the roads, improving the appearance of school buildings and grounds, park improvements, and sanitation projects.

By 1935 the Administration's policy settled around the idea that it was a Federal obligation to provide work for the employable unemployed.²³ President Roosevelt expressed this philosophy of Government relation to the wage earner as follows: "The continuation of relief is a subtle destroyer of the human spirit and inimical to the dictates of sound policy . . . work must be found for able-bodied, destitute workers. The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief."

Upon this principle of Government responsibility, WPA was founded, and PWA and CCC were continued. The money for carrying on this work program has come from Congressional appropriations.²⁴ At the peak of employment, the early part of 1936, nearly four million persons were at work under the Federal works' program. Seventy-eight percent of these were employed by the WPA on numerous projects.²⁵ WPA has played a significant rôle in the works' program. It has spent a lot of money, has put many men to work, and has been accused of playing politics. While Federally administered, WPA in nearly all cases is carrying out State sponsored work projects with locally certified relief applicants.²⁶

¹⁹ *Social Security in America*, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-34.

²⁰ Emergency Relief and Construction Act. 47 Stat. L. 709, (1932).

²¹ Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, 48 Stat. L. 1055 (1933).

²² Expenditures for CWA were \$931,100,000, approximately 80 percent of which went for wages. About one-third of expenditures went for road work. Next in order were school buildings and grounds, athletic fields, swimming pools, parks and sanitation projects. At the peak of CWA, 4,200,000 persons were employed. Cf. "A Survey of Relief and Security Programs," by WPA, May, 1938.

²³ Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, 49 Stat. L. 115 (1935).

²⁴ Cf. Survey of Relief and Security Programs, *op. cit.*, p. 41 for amount of appropriations.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, for list of projects p. 47.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46 "It has been the duty of States and localities to plan and to propose useful projects, to sponsor them and to assume a large share of responsibility for the direction of the project, and to contribute a share of the cost."

WPA's wage policy has been to pay the prevailing wage rate, and to encourage those on its pay rôle to accept private employment.²⁷ PWA is one of the oldest and most perservering of Federal work agencies. It got started under the \$3,300,000,000 pump-priming fund appropriated under Title 2 of the ill-fated NIRA. Under Secretary Ickes' dogged leadership, PWA still continues to carry on Federal projects in the heavy construction field. By grants to the States and local Governments, PWA has also stimulated a non-Federal public works program.²⁸ CCC provides conservation jobs on the land and in the forests for young men between the ages of 17-28. At the beginning of this year, 1938, there were 324,000 young men employed by CCC.²⁹ An agency similar in some respects to CCC is the NYA which is an expression of a new Government policy of affording work assistance to the needy youth in the secondary schools and colleges.³⁰

Job Insurance.—The Social Security Act does not provide a plan of unemployment compensation or job insurance. As we have seen, it brings strong pressure to get the States to do so. By the middle of 1937 all the States and Territories had enacted unemployment compensation legislation. These laws, while differing in details, are held together on principles by the general requirements of the Social

Security Act,³¹ by the informational and advisory service of the Social Security Board, and by periodic conferences of State unemployment compensation administrators. Each of the State acts, therefore, deals with similar problems,³² namely, the type of fund,³³ those covered,³⁴ contributions,³⁵ the rate and duration of benefits,³⁶ conditions for receipt of benefits,³⁷ and finally the method of administration.

In order to be eligible for Federal payments, the States must meet certain standards of administration. These are:³⁸ (1) to provide such methods of administration as found by the Board to insure full payment of benefits when due; (2) to pay benefits through public employment offices or such other agencies as the Board ap-

³¹ Titles III, IX; 1 Annual Report Social Security Board, 1936, p. 38.

³² *Analysis of State Unemployment Compensation Laws*, Social Security Board, 1938; cf. also Wyatt and Wandel, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-204.

³³ The pooled fund, where all contributions paid by the employer are mingled in one fund from which benefits are paid without distinction as to employer. Most States (44) have this type of fund. The other type is the employer-reserve fund where each employer's contributions are kept separate and benefits are paid to the extent that they can be charged to the worker's previous employers. Wis., Neb. have such type of fund.

³⁴ In a majority of the States the coverage extends to employers of eight or more.

³⁵ Only three States require employer contributions higher than 90 percent of the tax levied by Title 9 of the Social Security Act. Eight States (1938) require employee contributions.

³⁶ All States except two provide a benefit rate equal to 50 percent of weekly wages. All but two make fifteen dollars the maximum limit of benefits. All States but one limit the number of weeks in the year that an individual worker may get benefits, this generally varies from sixteen to twenty weeks.

³⁷ All states require a period of unemployment for each worker before he is eligible for benefits, and a waiting period, generally two weeks must pass after he lost his job before he is eligible to collect benefit payments. Certain things will make an employee ineligible for benefits.

³⁸ Cf. Title 3, Social Security Act.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48 "No relief person employed on a work project may be retained on that job if he refuses an offer of private employment at work he is capable of doing, if the private employer offers equivalent wages and reasonable working conditions."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53. The grants are 45 percent of the total cost of the project. In many cases loans for the remainder of the cost are from PWA.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42. At the peak, 1936, 450,000 were employed.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50. An executive order, 1935, made NYA part of the WPA program. At its peak 1937, 440,000 students were receiving aid from NYA. NYA has also given work for the youth not in school.

proves; (3) to provide opportunities for a fair hearing before an impartial tribunal for all whose claims have been denied; (4) to deposit all money collected for the unemployment benefit fund to the account of the Secretary of the Treasury; and (5) to make full and complete reports to the Social Security Board.³⁹ In addition to these requirements of the Social Security Act, the Board may make recommendations to the States for improving administrative procedure.⁴⁰

At present the States are about evenly divided in the type of organization provided to administer unemployment compensation, that is, about one-half are using existing labor law agencies, while the rest have provided independent unemployment compensation commissions.⁴¹ When organized and properly staffed the administrative agency is ready to tackle the problem of actualizing their job insurance laws.⁴² A good sign that administration has begun is the formal organization of the Interstate Conference of Unemployment Compensation Administrators who have already held regional and national conferences for the purpose of coordinating State activities in this field of public administration.

As we have seen, the Social Security Board plays an important but a minor rôle in job insurance. Its principal responsibilities are: (1) to approve State laws that meet the general requirements of the Act; (2) to certify payments to those States that provide certain methods of administrative procedures, and (3) the Board has a limited power to enforce standards. On this point, the greatest

pressure lies in the Board's authority to withhold grants if after a notice and a hearing it finds that State administration of unemployment compensation denies benefits to eligible applicants, or fails to meet the conditions of the National Social Security Act. The Social Security Board, however, appreciates the predicament of a State agency caught between the restrictions of both the Federal and the State Governments.⁴³ The National Board, however, keeps up with State administration by a system of periodic reports, just mentioned, by field representatives in the regional offices, and by inventories and audits.⁴⁴

The Social Security Board's obligations under job insurance are carried out by the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation which consists of the Director's Office, and three divisions, namely, legislative aid, administrative aid, and the division of grants. These names are descriptive of the nature of the Social Security Board's activities under this title of social security.⁴⁵

Old Age Insurance

Old age insurance is the direct and sole administrative responsibility of the Social Security Board. For performing its duties under this title the Board operates through a Bureau of Old Age Insurance, twelve regional offices, and over three hundred field offices. Approximately sixty-five percent of the Board's entire personnel are employed in this service. The Bureau of Old Age Insurance works through three divisions, namely, administrative, analysis, and the technical and control division. The first two perform what are generally

³⁹ For nature of these reports, Cf. Wyatt and Wandel, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁴¹ 2 Annual Report Social Security Board (1937), p. 63.

⁴² Cf. Wyatt and Wandel, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-60.

⁴³ 1 Annual Report Social Security Board (1936), p. 14.

⁴⁴ Wyatt and Wandel, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 206-220, for details of the work of these divisions.

called staff services, that is, the administrative division looks after such matters as personnel, supplies, budgeting, accounting, mails and files; the analysis division conducts research helpful in administering the old age benefit program. The technical and control division is essentially an operating service, that is, it supervises the assignment of account numbers, the maintenance of records, and the adjustment of old age benefit claims. As we shall see presently these are the greatest problems that face the Social Security Board in administering old age insurance. In addition to these operating services, the division directs the Bureau's field organization composed of the regional and field offices.

The field offices are the administrative units for carrying out the Social Security Board's responsibilities under old age insurance. In each regional office is a representative of the Bureau of Old Age Insurance who supervises the field offices located in the region, as well as acts as a technical adviser to the regional director. In each field office are found the field representative or manager, assistant manager, and administrative clerk. "For most purposes a field representative is responsible to his regional office."⁴⁶ These local offices are important links in the administrative machinery for administering old age benefits. Also to the people by and near they represent the entire program of Social Security. The field representatives therefore need to be well grounded in all phases of the security program. Local residents are considered desirable for staffing these offices.⁴⁷ While this makes available individuals acquainted with local needs, it also opens the way for deserving local politicians.

Efforts were made, however, to secure appointments by merit. "After appointment, members of the administrative staff were brought to Washington for an intensive course of training before assignment to the offices."⁴⁸ It is the hope of the Social Security Board that through knowledge of the locality and of the purpose of the program the field offices will "promote economical and efficient administration."

An annuity for the workers in a covered employment is based on his total earnings from the time the Act went into force until he becomes sixty-five. The total amount will depend upon his wage scale, and the length of time he has contributed. It is therefore essential, the Social Security Board believes, to establish and to maintain a wage record of each eligible applicant for old age benefits. By April 1, 1938, over thirty-eight million social security accounts had been opened.⁴⁹ This initial step of the opening, then the keeping of a separate account for millions of wage earners and salaried employees during their entire working life is without exaggeration the biggest bookkeeping job in the world. There were skeptics who said it could never be done. Mr. Corson's laconic answer to this criticism is, "the records are being maintained."⁵⁰ Anyone who wants a visible sign that the job is being done will find it in the steel filing cases that occupy one-half acre of floor space in the large Coca-Cola Building in Baltimore where the record keeping operation is carried on. The secret to this immense undertaking in record making, without disparagement to anyone's ad-

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Cf. *Summary of Progress*, Social Security Board, Jan. 1938.

⁵⁰ J. J. Corson, Director of Bureau of Old-Age Insurance, writing in the *Social Security Bulletin* for May, 1938.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ 2. Annual Report Social Security Board (1937), p. 14.

ministrative ability, is found in the ingenious, almost "uncanny" mechanical devices that record the information on each worker's master card.⁵¹

Each applicant for old age benefit is identified by an account number. When he gets this number, the employee has performed his legal obligations. The employer, however, must do two things: (1) keep a record of wages paid each worker, which he reports quarterly to the Social Security Board; and (2) he sends to the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department both the income tax on his employees and the excise tax levied on the employer. This old age reserve account, which is expected to grow into huge proportions, is an administrative responsibility of the Treasury Department. The final object, of course, of all this account keeping is to pay old age benefits when they come due in 1942.⁵² The Bureau of Old Age Insurance is now getting ready for the time when its routine work of keeping wage records will have proved its value in the larger work of adjudicating and of paying claims for old age insurance.

Public Assistance

The purpose of Titles I, IV, and X of the Social Security Act, as noted above, is to stimulate public assistance for the needy aged, the needy blind, and the dependent children. It does this by a compulsory cooperative plan that promises to vitalize, and to liberalize the State and the local government's poor law system based on the Elizabethan poor laws of three centuries ago. And all this is to be done by granting aid to the usual accom-

paniment of setting standards, approving plans, supervision, and the threat to withhold Federal aid if the States fail to meet the conditions of the grant.

For all these titles there are the same administrative standards, that is, the States must provide: (1) a State-wide plan; (2) for financial participation by the State; (3) an opportunity for a fair hearing by any individual whose claim is denied; (4) for periodic reports; (5) for a single State agency either to administer the plan directly, or to supervise its local administration; and (6) provide such methods of administration, excepting personnel problems, as the Social Security Board believes essential to the efficient administration of the plan.

As criteria for determining when a State has met the requirements of administrative organization and procedure the Social Security Board looks into such things as: "(1) clear, logical lines of responsibility in the State organization; (2) integration of closely related activities under one agency; (3) business-like methods of procedure, which would avoid overlapping of authority and cumbersomeness of operation; and (4) personnel standards designed to secure workers with special qualifications and to fit these workers into well-defined jobs."⁵³ Two other requirements, applied by the Board, are: (1) that assistance to the needy shall be paid in money and (2) that Federal funds shall not be used to match State money for assisting needy persons in public institutions. Both these conditions will likely have the effect of abolishing the traditional systems of aiding the poor by outdoor relief, and the alms house. Approval by the Social Security Board makes the State plan eligible for Federal assistance, but failure to maintain the adminis-

⁵¹ Cf. J. L. Fay and M. J. Wasserman, *Accounting Operations of the Bureau of Old Age Insurance*, Social Security Bulletin, June, 1938.

⁵² Lump sum payments are being sent to eligible persons who become 65 before that date. Cf. *Summary of Progress*, *op. cit.*

⁵³ Wyatt and Wande., *op. cit.*, p. 274.

trative standards may result in withholding funds, a dire threat that makes the administrative slogan "Government by Co-operation" a trifle ironical.

As a result of the requirements of the Social Security Act there is a definite trend among the States to administer directly all three types of public assistance in a single State department of public welfare headed by an appointed board which, however, entrusts executive functions to one person that they call director, commissioner, or administrator. By this method is policy forming and policy execution separated. In this way have a majority of the States solved the issue, well known to students of public administration, of the board versus the single administrator. "In most instances," comments the Social Security Board, "States consider that this plan gives a greater assurance of continuity in policy, provided a measure of protection against periodic turnover of personnel and a better chance for representation of community interests, and makes for public understanding of the program."⁵⁴

In a few States, the local governments, that is, the county, the town in New England, or a combination of counties into a district as in Florida, have direct responsibility for administering public assistance. In all States the local government is the place for application of the needy seeking public assistance. In either case, whether the locality has direct responsibility, or is merely the place of application, Government at the local level is stimulated. And now in practically every county there are public welfare departments composed of a board that has general supervision of county welfare activities, and a superintendent of welfare responsible to the

board for the exercise of executive functions.⁵⁵

While State administration is likely to be simpler and more efficient, there are strong reasons for nurturing the spirit of local self-government by the local administration of public assistance. Local administration "permits closer coördination with other community services and better community understanding."⁵⁶ It is of interest to see that in those States where county government is alive, that is, where there are county welfare units, the local governments have retained the authority of administering public assistance under the State's supervision, and in most cases where there is local administration there is also local sharing of cost—a healthy practice.

The Federal Government's rôle in public assistance, largely "advisory and supervisory rather than administrative," is exercised through the Bureau of Public Assistance.⁵⁷ This Bureau, as we have seen, keeps a representative in each regional office. The States, likewise, whether they administer the program directly or supervise its local administration, have need of a field staff to visit the localities, and to advise them on matters of public assistance.

From the foregoing description one sees that Government of all three levels participate in administering the plan of public assistance. While one may say that the Federal Government's rôle is supervisory and advisory, it is not without effective devices to control results; the principal ones being: the approval of State plans, an audit of the State use of Federal funds, periodic progress reports, inspection of

⁵⁵ Cf. *Characteristics of State Plans for Old-Age Assistance, for Aid to Dependent Children, for Aid to the Blind*, Social Security Board, Dec. 1, 1937.

⁵⁶ 2. Annual Report Social Security Board, p. 31.

⁵⁷ Wyatt and Wandel, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

⁵⁴ 2. Annual Report Social Security Board, p. 31.

State administrative procedure, and the authority to suspend grants. Out of deference to State's rights the Social Security Board has tactfully based its relation to the States on the mild policy of assistance, persuasion, advice, and the loan of experts. It "has offered no set formulas but has sought, rather, to work out with the States various methods of meeting their own local problems, leaving to the States the final decision as to which method should be followed."⁵⁸ The State Governments likewise supervise local welfare agencies by the use of funds, by inspection, by review of cases, by reports, and by drafting uniform procedures.

Problems that face administering public assistance are, of course, not all in organization, and in procedure. There are, for instance, the pressure for higher payments and wider coverage, the weakening of family responsibility for the care of their dependents, and the strong urge in some localities to promote party patronage at the expense of the poor. At the present writing the Social Security Board is considering suspending Federal grants for old age assistance to Ohio on the grounds that the State welfare administration is permeated with politics and is inefficient.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ 1 Annual Report Social Security Board, p. 33.

⁵⁹ The Social Security Board has also investigated conditions in Mo., Ill., and Okla. In the latter State payments were suspended for a time. Cf. *The Newsweek*, July 25, 1938.

Then there is the complementary problem of getting trained personnel to staff the State and local welfare units. In over one-half the States where there is no formal type of merit system, some form of objective qualifications are used as a basis for selecting the staff that is to administer public assistance. In Virginia, for instance, the State department of public welfare has recently adopted a plan for employing local superintendents of public welfare by allowing "thirty points for educational training, thirty points for experience in social work, and forty points for other demonstrated qualities." Although the passing grade is sixty, 24 local superintendents failed to pass. Experience has shown the value of in-service training for new recruits. While in-service training is not a substitute for professional training, the Social Security Board believes it is of value for giving the staff an insight into the philosophy upon which the program is based, an interpretation of the program itself, and an encouragement to improve their professional training.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ 2 Annual Report Social Security Board, pp. 34-37. After a year and a half of operation, these difficulties stand out: (1) the tendency of States to be lax in applying the means test; (2) lack of skilled workers, particularly in the localities; (3) failure of many States to understand that public assistance is a form of service as well as a cash contribution.

The following release comes from the office of the Editor of the *Washington News Letter on Social Legislation*:

The Washington News Letter on Social Legislation which begins publication in January will be of direct interest to many state officials. It will cover federal legislation which would immediately affect state administration and finance, such as the following proposals: to unload relief on the states; to liquidate W.P.A.; to provide grants to the states for direct relief, transients, and Indians; to increase federal aid to dependent children from one-third to one-half; to equalize old age assistance; to subsidize state health programs; to reorganize, extend the coverage and otherwise amend unemployment compensation.

The News Letter will seek to present the best opinions obtainable as to the prospects and significance of these proposals. It will concern itself more with "off the record thinking" and "behind the scenes" situations rather than official statements. It will also cover amendments suggested by state officials and their evaluations of amendments from other sources.

The News Letter will be issued biweekly while Congress is in session with special editions on matters of immediate interest at a cost of \$5 per subscription. For information, write Glen Leet, Editor, *Washington News Letter on Social Legislation*, 1733 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

WHITE RELIEF IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1865-1867

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I

FROM novelists, poets, and historians have come stories steeped in the pathos, the romance, and the high courage of the people of the South as they fought the devastating effects of the Civil War. But the story of the sympathy and the assistance given to the white people of the South by the people of the North during this time is not often heard. That there were many people of the North out of sympathy with the carpet-bag rule of the South is generally accepted, but the suggestion that they did anything about it is just as generally denied. Both well-known students of the history of Reconstruction in the South and average laymen have been strong in their doubts that any appreciable assistance was given. Few people seem to have heard or read acknowledgments of these services. The explanation of this silence may be traced to several sources. Man is not given to advertising his indigencies nor to eulogizing his creditors. Then the people who were served were not the articulate class; in fact many of them were entirely illiterate.

Generally those who wrote were more concerned with their own political and economic problems than with the relief work, and the investigator is doomed to disappointment if he hopes to find this the theme of the great mass of private correspondence which has been preserved. Yet this is not surprising when one considers the same problem today. Probably very little of the present-day correspondence would furnish much information on the relief work now being done. The

work in 1865-1867 was distributed among so many people who either made no reports, sent the reports directly to the donors, or failed to preserve the records that very little information of this nature is available. Some letters, reports, telegrams, etc., are contained in Governor Jonathan Worth's papers in the North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh, but when the work became very heavy Governor Worth asked the assistance of a committee made up of Daniel M. Barringer and the pastors of four leading churches of Raleigh¹ (R. S. Mason² of the Episcopal, Thos. E. Skinner of the Baptist, H. T. Hudson of the Methodist, and J. M. Atkinson of the Presbyterian), after which the correspondence decreased and soon ceased.

In the absence of the correspondence, which would be of great value in this study, newspapers and magazines have been used generously. An attempt has been made to use enough newspapers to give allowance for any bias which might have prevailed. The task has not been easy. For some reasons, perhaps from pride, or perhaps from fear of a stampede upon the distributing agencies by the destitute, or from some other unknown cause, the newspapers often printed the announcements of contributions or news items about the relief work in the most inconspicuous places and in the smallest type.

In spite of the deficiencies in the material, enough information concerning the

¹ *Sentinel*, April 23, 1867.

² Reverend Richard Sharpe Mason served as Rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1848-1874 (Tablet on the Chancel Wall of Christ Church).

white relief has been discovered to show that the story of Reconstruction in North Carolina, 1865-1867, can not be complete without including this side of the subject, and that no account of the undoing of Reconstruction can fail to ignore it.

The actual distress of the white people of North Carolina can hardly be overestimated. The land owners and business men had the problem of labor, but the poor faced starvation. And when crops failed the average small farmer was destitute. The famine was so severe in Union County in 1867 it was said that "men who in former years sold from three to ten hundred bushels of corn have not now a month's supply of food of any sort, and no money to purchase what they need. Relief to accomplish good must be given speedily, . . ." Poverty was general; even "the paupers in the Poor House can scarcely be provided for."³ In another area it was said "Business here has been suspended for two weeks by the unprecedented cold weather . . . the suffering among the poor is very great. . . ." Accounts were given of furniture being burned for fuel and of individuals dying from cold (*Sentinel*, January 18, 1867).

When news of this distress began to penetrate to the outside world people began to respond in various ways and from many sections. Organizations were formed and help came from border states, from the despised North and even from distant California. Furthermore assistance of very substantial nature came from the Federal government. The participation of these agencies in the attempts to alleviate distress in the South is generally admitted, but the belief that the services of the Federal government as well as those of the people of other states was devoted exclusively to the Negro—which is re-

futed by the facts in the case—just as generally prevails.

II

New York took up the cause early and made generous contributions to the needy. In September, 1865, the *Sentinel* carried the following quotation from the *New York World*:

There are still several thousand Confederate soldiers sick, wounded, and dying, scattered along in the hospitals and out-buildings, sheds, etc., throughout Virginia, Carolina, and other portions of the Atlantic States, who are utterly destitute of means and unable to reach their homes. The government has been very kind to them in furnishing transportation as far as the lines of railway were in order: but once landed at the *termini*, these poor fellows were compelled to accept such accommodations as they could . . . and thousands of these sufferers are at this very hour languishing and dying for want of a mere trifle of that assistance which our city has extended to so many in like condition and distress. Who will aid them? They were once our foes to be sure, but they were brave men, and they are now our brethren.

Donations of money, blankets or clothing were to be sent to the Reverend C. K. Wallace at the Nicholas Hotel.

The most decided step for relief from New York came in January, 1867, when the Southern Relief Association was formed. Thanks to the work of Anne Middleton Holmes in publishing the reports of the New York Ladies Southern Relief Association, a fairly complete account of the work of this organization is available.⁴ The association was organized under the direction of Mrs. Algernon Sydney Smith late in December, 1866. Mrs. J. I. Roosevelt was chosen president of the association. On January 3, 1867 Governor Worth wrote a New York firm, in reply to a letter from them, expressing his willingness to coöperate "in a gift enterprise for the benefit of destitute Southerners." He also assured the inter-

³ *Western Democrat*, May 21, 1867.

⁴ *Southern Relief Association of New York City*, 1866-1867.

rogators that there were "many greatly needing and deserving the charity of the benevolent." Some days later he received a telegram from Edward Bright of New York City announcing the formation of the relief commission and asking for information of the extent of destitution in North Carolina and the best method of distributing supplies "for benefit of all classes of sufferers." He also asked if the state would pay the freight on supplies sent.⁵ Governor Worth replied, sending abstracts from reports from "official sources in the counties named" and stated that the Legislature had made an appropriation for paying the freight.⁶ The editor of *The Land We Love* (March, 1867), quoting from a letter from a friend, described the meeting which was held in New York to stir the sentiments for the cause.

It would be difficult to conceive of a more distinguished and talented looking body of men, than that which appeared on the rostrum. . . . I recognized some as ancient and incorrigible enemies to the cause we held so dear.

Mr. Peter Cooper, famous alike for his beneficence and sound judgment was called to the chair . . . he said it was the intention of the New York people to prove to their Southern neighbors, that they were not in heart enemies. They meant to do them good in a substantial manner. . . . Mr. Bright, a Southern man presented the cause.

Former Southerners were active in this and other states in securing aid. The Reverend Henry Ward Beecher also spoke at the New York meeting, but he exhibited such a spirit of extending charity with contempt that the writer of the above letter said, "His address very seriously lacked taste and judgment." Other celebrities were mentioned, among them the

venerable Horace Greeley and General Anderson of Fort Sumter distinction.

The *Sentinel* of January 22, 1867 quoted the New York *World* in describing the organization. Mayor Hoffman, Catholic Archbishop of New York, Bishop Potter, and Dr. Tyng were mentioned among the interested persons. The office was located on No. 14 Bond Street and was open from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. to receive dry goods, clothing, etc. It was announced that Messrs. Harris Gaines & Co., 15 Whitehall, would receive more weighty contributions. Commodore Garrison offered a steamer to convey the goods to the South.

According to the Holmes report the New York organization raised \$71,277.32, while the Brooklyn auxiliary raised \$10,795.17. Most of the Brooklyn funds were distributed through the New York organization. Of this amount \$4,205.00 was assigned to North Carolina.⁷ The newspaper reports indicate larger amounts, but these were probably estimates rather than exact figures. The *Sentinel* (September 5, 1867) stated that the Southern Relief Committee in its final meeting had total cash receipts of \$250,566 and had purchased 17,316 bushels of corn. The editor of *The Land We Love* (August, 1867), said that the lady who gave the first impulse to the movement for Southern Relief in New York reported \$63,000 given prior to June, 1867. The Holmes report gives accounts of collections after the first of June at over \$60,000. If the former report was correct the total was much greater than the Holmes report gives, unless the amount given in *The Land We Love* included some donations mentioned in the report in addition to the money, such as "sewing machines, shoes, dry goods, provisions, and some few farming

⁵ Governor Jonathan Worth's Papers, January 29, 1867.

⁶ James de R. Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 886.

⁷ This amount has been determined by totaling the various sums named for North Carolina in the report.

implements . . . with fifty boxes of new and secondhand clothing. . . ."

The Reverend Thomas E. Skinner reported (*Sentinel*, April 11, 1865) that the New York Relief Association had at different times sent him "the sum of \$560 also two boxes of clothing & etc." for the relief of suffering women and children. This report tallies with the Holmes report. The Holmes report is the report given by the society itself and discrepancies would have to be charged to faulty accounting or to individuals giving directly in the name of the association without notifying its officers.

There seem to have been few complaints about the distribution of the supplies. Such as were made were of the slowness in delivery, which was often due to the poor means of transportation rather than to any wilful design. The Freedmen's Bureau lent itself liberally to the work and there seems to have been no attempt to discriminate in favor of the Negro. Governor Worth's secretary wrote that corn shipped from the New York Southern Relief Association should be consigned to the United States Quarter Master for Charlotte and Salisbury. He added "The Bureau agrees to transport on the Railroads and such expense as is not met by the Bureau will be met by the State. . . ."⁸

The associations and the directors seemed to favor the plan of giving corn and bacon rather than sending money to the local distributors. This often worked hardships and was more expensive, but it probably prevented much misappropriation of the funds. North Carolina newspapers have numerous items giving accounts of the distribution of the supplies in their individual localities. In some instances the donations were accompanied by instructions for distribution "without

regard to race, color, or politics, or religious opinions." The recipients seem to have been widely scattered. Accounts include appropriations for Monroe, Wadesboro, Wilmington, Cabarrus County and other places and give sufficient evidence that the donations from the Association in New York reached the intended destinations.

These contributions came from various sources. Many were the gifts of wealthy people and doubtless represented very little sacrifice; some came from the door receipts of certain public performances; and others came from daily workers who gave them from the savings of meager salaries, as when the clerks in the New York post office raised a sum of \$650.00 for the Ladies Southern Relief Association to distribute.

We have at least one statement of the total distribution of corn from the New York supply which will give some idea of the proportionate part for the whites (*Western Democrat*, March 19, 1867).

Hospitals.....	6,483 bushels
Orphan asylum.....	1,715 bushels
Destitute whites.....	10,958 bushels
Destitute blacks.....	13,421 bushels

The contributions from New York were met with varying reactions from the North Carolinians. The editor of *The Land We Love* (August, 1867), complained "we would say to them that what the South needs is relief from taxation on labor and confidence for the future." "The tax on cotton and tobacco alone has exceeded by a hundred-fold the munificent charity of the noble and generous." He gave as an example the tobacco tax of Danville, Virginia, which alone had amounted to more than \$380,000 the preceding year. On the other hand the *Sentinel* said, "Such labors of love and charity cannot fail to remove greatly the asperities and ill feelings which have grown up in the late years."

⁸ James de R. Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 405.

The generosity of New York was even surpassed by that of Maryland. The ladies of Baltimore held a fair to raise funds for the destitute South. The accounts of the dazzle and splendor of this occasion must have reminded the donors of the great disparity between themselves and the recipients of their liberality. Yet there seemed to be no indication of repressed spirits in the enthusiastic assemblages unless the generosity of the givers expressed their recognition of the great need. The Baltimore *Sun* announced the approaching event in very animated terms (Quoted by the *Sentinel*, April 2, 1866).

At the present time, day and night perhaps thousands of nimble fingers are plying the needle in Baltimore and elsewhere, each fair lady trying to make the display as attractive and the various articles as desirable as possible. The fair commences at the Maryland Institute on Monday next, and will doubtless have the effect of filling the city with strangers. The various railroads and steamboat companies having reduced the rate of fare for the occasion. The managers, at their last meeting adopted a resolution that there shall be no solicitation to buyers, and all change for articles shall be promptly returned; so no one need refrain from visiting the fair through fear of being too heavily or unexpectedly drawn upon . . . articles and donations of every description continue to flow in. One philanthropic gentleman has donated a lot of ground, another a fine specimen of a mule, a third a fatted ox—all rather unwieldy articles for exhibition at a ladies' fair, but all of which will be available to swell up the aggregate receipts. Among the many others who have manifested interest in this noble charity is Mme. Celeste, who on Saturday last gave a grand *matinee* at St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans for the benefit of the Fair, and the managers having furnished the house gratuitously, doubtless quite a handsome sum was realized.

Some idea of the number of expected visitors may be obtained from the arrangements with the transportation companies. These included "the Baltimore and Ohio (including the Washington Branch), Northern Central and Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad companies, the Old Line of Norfolk steamers,

of the Individual Enterprise Line to Annapolis, West river, Mills river, Choptank and Pokomoke rivers for the issue of commutation or round trip tickets during the continuance of the fair." It was said that similar arrangements were in progress for all the passenger steamers running on the Chesapeake. The ladies also planned to issue a daily newspaper during the time of the fair.

In April receipts of \$37,000 were announced and "the interest or rather the enthusiasm of the citizens" showed no sign of abatement. Train loads of visitors from the South were coming in and the attendance of each evening was larger than of the preceding one. Season tickets were sold, and it was said, "Dressing is carried to a perfection here not dreamed of in our section. . . ." Many merchants were attracted to the scene, which was made more impressive by the presence of a "Blues Band" and a lunch room. It is not surprising that the fair was called "one of the most successful enterprises of the kind ever undertaken."

On April 19, Governor Worth was notified that North Carolina was to receive \$10,000 from the proceeds of the fair. On April 21, the receipts were said to total \$40,000 and a few days later the report of the distribution was given (*Sentinel*, May 2, 1866). Virginia led the list with \$20,000; Mississippi and South Carolina came next with \$15,000 each; Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia received \$10,000 each. Tennessee was allotted \$6,000; Arkansas and Florida received the smallest portion, \$4,000 each; and refugees in Maryland and Virginia, \$8,000—making a total of \$108,000. A sum of \$50,000 was left on hand for later distribution or relief of special cases.

The *People's Press* (May 5, 1866) mentioned the appropriation of \$10,000 of Fair money "for the relief of the suffering

and destitute in North Carolina." A few weeks later this amount was increased to \$12,000. A partial list of distributions with the names of agents was given by the *Press* (June 22, 1866).

Salem.....	\$200—E. A. Volger, E. Belo.
Lexington.....	\$300—Dr. Wm. R. Holt, B. B. Roberts
Huntsville.....	\$100—Hon. R. C. Puryear
Walnut Cove....	\$100—Wm. A. Lash

But Maryland was not yet through. In June the Raleigh *Sentinel* carried the following report from Baltimore:

Another festival for the benefit of those in the South whom the funds lately raised failed to reach is announced. The Southern people will not soon forget, we are sure, the signal sympathy exhibited by these ladies, who since the cessation of hostilities, have never failed to respond to every call upon their generous natures.

On June 9, an appropriation of \$800 was made and forwarded to the committee for Raleigh. A few days later Charlotte received \$300 for destitute Confederate soldiers, widows, and children of deceased soldiers. On June 12, 1866 the total sum was increased to \$15,000 and a more complete account of the distributions was given.⁹

Fayetteville.....	\$500
Charlotte.....	300
Salisbury.....	300
Wadesboro.....	200
Rockingham.....	200
Goldsboro.....	300
Greensboro.....	300
Edenton.....	300
Hillsboro.....	300
Statesville.....	200
Warrenton.....	200
Tarboro.....	200
Plymouth.....	200
Kinston.....	200
Chapel Hill.....	200
Lexington.....	300

⁹ *Western Democrat*, quoting the *Wilmington Journal*.

Rutherfordton.....	300
Salem.....	200
Graham.....	300
Milton.....	200
Wentworth.....	200
Huntsville.....	200
Asheville.....	200
Elizabeth City.....	200
Lincolnton.....	200
Raleigh.....	500
Wilmington.....	500
Newbern.....	300
Morganton.....	300
Oxford.....	200
Lumberton.....	200
Roxboro.....	200
Kenansville.....	200
Albemarle.....	200
Walnut Cove.....	200
Madison.....	200
Clinton.....	300
Smithfield.....	300
Louisburg.....	200
Troy.....	200
Asheboro.....	200
Halifax.....	200
Washington.....	200

The proportional share of the donations was very small for the individual. Of a sum of \$300 sent to Hillsboro, North Carolina, by the Ladies' Fair in Baltimore no one received more than ten dollars and few more than five dollars while the number of applicants was so great and the destitution so complete that effectual relief was not possible without further aid (*Hillsborough Recorder*, June 27, 1866). The *Sentinel* of June 25 gave a partial list of distributions of the fund which at this time had become \$12,000. The list showing the amounts for each district does not vary from that given above.

The *Western Democrat* of June 26 was gratified that the Ladies of Baltimore "had the prudence to appropriate for the benefit of living widows and orphans of the South . . . the money they collected by their fair." There are two implications here: one a reaction to the efforts of the Southern women to raise funds for memo-

rials for the Confederate dead and the other that it was understood that at least a large portion of the funds was going to the white widows and orphans. The *Sentinel* would not have been likely to speak of Negroes in this way. There are many indications to show that the funds were distributed without regard to color, in addition to the fact that many of them were so designated. A study of the accounts dealing with the subject gives the impression that a little less than half of the supplies sent for the relief of the destitute in North Carolina went to the whites. This does not include the amounts given for education, in which the proportion for the Negroes was probably considerably larger.

There is much evidence of Maryland's generosity. The *Fayetteville News* (September 25, 1866), a North Carolina newspaper, estimated Maryland's gift to North Carolina at \$16,000. *The Land We Love* (June, 1865), said that the generosity of Maryland was "not exhibited merely in the Great Fair, which raised \$100,000 for their relief, but also in thousands of acts of private beneficence known only to the individuals relieved by it." The Maryland Lancaster *Ledger* informed the people of Maryland that the work was still unfinished.¹⁰

The accounts which reach us from various sections of our District of the actual and prospective suffering among the truly poor and helpless widows and orphans, who have been reduced from plenty to penury is heartrending. Scarcely a day passes over our heads but that some new tale of woe is brought to our ears. . . .

Colonel Bomford, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the State of North Carolina, confirmed the report that the suffering was acute. He estimated the number in need of food at

6,000 and said that two-thirds of these were whites.¹¹

When individuals and private organizations seemed to have exhausted their energies and resources in the cause, the State of Maryland took up the work. According to a news item "both Houses of the Maryland legislature on Tuesday last adopted a bill reported by the Committee on Finance appropriating \$100,000 for the relief of suffering at the South." Very soon Governor Worth received notice that the State Commissioners of Maryland had appropriated 7,000 bushels of corn and 35,000 pounds of bacon to relieve the destitute in North Carolina.¹² On April 19, 1867 he received a telegram from the agent of the State of Maryland announcing his arrival "with five thousand bushels corn and fifteen Hhds bacon."¹³ Fayetteville acknowledged the receipt of 250 bags (500 bushels) of corn and one hogshead (922 pounds) of bacon.¹⁴ De Rosset & Company of Wilmington and the steamboats gave their services without charge to the work.

The Raleigh *Register* of November 8, 1867 said the amount had reached \$32,500 and "At the last report small portions of this money were yet on hand but it is believed that every dollar of it will be required to settle outstanding bills. The various reports lead to the conclusion that between seventy-five and eighty thousand different persons were relieved . . . more than half of these were white." Supplies of corn were estimated at 120,000 bushels and bacon at 85,000 pounds.¹⁵ It must be noted here that this is in addition to the report given above of June 12, 1866. This

¹¹ *Western Democrat*, April 2, 1867.

¹² *Sentinel*, April 15, 1867.

¹³ Governor Jonathan Worth's Papers.

¹⁴ *Fayetteville News*, April 15, 1867.

¹⁵ Governor Jonathan Worth's Papers, "William Gray to Governor Worth," April 25, 1867.

¹⁰ Quoted in *The Western Democrat*, March 19, 1867.

is over a year later and was the gift of the State of Maryland. Maryland's generosity is unquestionably remarkable, and bears every earmark of her sympathy with the Southern soldiers who had passed through her lands during the war period.

The accounts of the contributions from Missouri indicate that her share in aiding the destitute was very large but less publicity seems to have accompanied it. In September, 1866 the editor of *The Land We Love* (D. H. Hill) wrote, "a friend in Saint Louis, Missouri, writes to us that they are getting up a Fair and Tournament for the relief of suffering poor of the South." Some weeks later the Hillsborough *Recorder* (December 5, 1866) published the following:

Saint Louis, Mo.
Nov. 19, 1866

Mr. Heartt:
Dear Sir:—

The committee for distributing the funds received at the Fair held here for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the South have requested me to find out some of that class of persons who require assistance this winter in North Carolina, and as far as the funds go they will receive some aid.

Only the widows and orphans of ENTIRELY destitute officers and soldiers can be aided as there are more of these than we can assist. . . . I will be glad to receive applications from some of the *most* destitute endorsed by well known persons. . . .

William Webb

William Webb was a native North Carolinian but he had resided in Saint Louis for many years. The Saint Louis Committee estimated the total receipts from the fair at \$134,743.38. North Carolina's share was said to be \$6,995. The *Sentinel* disclaimed any knowledge of the contribution and stated that the Governor had received none of it. However, the issue of April 15 stated that at a bazaar held in Saint Louis a short time before a number of tickets in a grand raffle were generously presented to each

Southern State. "North Carolina was so fortunate as to draw some of the most elegant and valuable prizes and the articles have been forwarded to a committee of gentlemen of this city . . . with instructions that the proceeds arising from their sale or other distribution, shall be devoted to the relief of the poor in the State,—preference being given to the widows or families of deceased soldiers themselves." Some of the articles were placed on exhibit at the store of Messrs. McKimmon. Among them were a magnificent dressing case valued at \$1500 which had been donated by a French company in Saint Louis, several *papier mache* quartette tables, a case of jelly spoons, several pieces of a tea set, an elegantly furnished sewing machine, and other handsome articles. The idea of purchasing the dressing case for General Lee by taking a hundred subscriptions was advanced.

The March issue of *The Land We Love* carried a long list of prizes.

Jas. H. Lucas—A building lot.....	\$10,000
Steamboat company—Solid silver service.....	5,000
Saloons—Set of diamonds.....	3,500
Hotels—5 piece tea set.....	2,500
Tobacconists and sugar manufacturers—silver tea set.....	2,000
Professor Anton—Knabe piano.....	1,800
Eugene Jaccard & Co.—Super dressing case mounted with 175 ounces of sterling silver.....	1,500
Butchers and Drovers.....	1,000
Meremac Iron Works—Silver tea set.....	1,000

This by no means completes the list but it shows the large number of substantial contributions. Many donations to this fair were sent to the Maryland people. The total receipts were estimated at \$150,000. Of this amount \$10,000 were contributed to North Carolina.

Massachusetts was also represented in the work of serving the poor and destitute.

On February 27, 1867 the *Sentinel* reported that Robert Winthrop of Boston had contributed \$300 to the Southern relief fund. In a letter accompanying the gift Winthrop said: "I fear that our people are not sufficiently alive to the danger of starvation which is impending over many parts of the South." In April following Governor Worth received a message asking him to assist a committee in Boston which had in charge some contributions to relieve destitution in the South. A Mr. Gage was sent by the Boston committee to enquire into conditions. Union County acknowledged a gift of \$300 from Boston to be used for the sick, infirm, and aged. The total amount for the relief of the poor in North Carolina was said to be \$9,100 (*Western Democrat*, May 21, 1867). The editor of *The Land We Love* (May, 1868) received a private letter from Boston which mentioned the contribution, saying that up to April 20, 1868 Boston had contributed \$35,678 "for the relief of the destitute in the South."

Pennsylvania also came to the relief of the South. An association was formed in Philadelphia, March, 1867, to raise funds to supply food to the most needy—which the editor of the *Sentinel* (March 29, 1867) thought were to be found in Union and Stanly counties. A few days later money enough to purchase 3000 bushels of corn "to be distributed without regard to color" was forwarded to Messrs. Worth and Daniel of Wilmington. The editor of the *Sentinel* said, "This is another evidence that Northern sympathy is not entirely dried up, but that there is still a regard for suffering humanity among some of our Northern brethren." The corn was placed in charge of Colonel Bomford of the Freedmen's Bureau and Governor Worth and was distributed in four lots: Union County received 1,000 bushels, Stanly County 700 bushels, Anson County

500 bushels, and Raleigh 800 bushels. In addition 800 bushels were reserved for further distribution where the greatest need appeared. There are further indications of purchases from the Pennsylvania funds, Wilkes and Ashe counties were each sent 200 bushels and Lexington was given 150 bushels.¹⁶ Later a grand concert was held in Philadelphia by the Germania singing societies with an orchestra of 200 people and chorus and performers, with 500 additional persons, to raise funds for the Southern Famine Relief organization (*The Weekly Sentinel*, May 17, 1867).

The *Sentinel* (April 18, 1867; May 7, 1867) contained brief references to organizations and contributions in the cities of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. Pittsburgh raised \$2000 in two days for relief of sufferers in the South. Nine days later, April 27, 1867, mention was made of subscriptions to exceed \$5000. Cincinnati raised "about sixty thousand dollars for the assistance of the people of the Southern States who are in destitute circumstances."

Young California was not to be outdone by her older sister states. A meeting was held in April, 1867. Governor Lowe presided and subscriptions and arrangements for collecting over \$110,000 from the Pacific section were made.¹⁷ The express, railroad and telegraph companies offered their services free. The *Western Democrat* of May 1, 1867 reported \$4,750, making a total of \$47,000, received from California by the Southern Famine Commission. This was spoken of as the third remittance from California. The reference to the Southern Famine Commission is puzzling. There is the intimation that there was an attempt to consolidate the work for the famine relief in a central

¹⁶ James de R. Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 927-928.

¹⁷ *Sentinel*, April 7, 1867.

committee in New York City, but no description of such an organization has been discovered. The *Daily Sentinel* of September 5, 1867, says, "The Southern Relief Famine Committee held a final meeting today. The total cash receipts have been \$250,566 which has all been expended. The number of bushels of corn purchased is 175,316." The total estimates from the relief societies of Maryland, New York, and Saint Louis alone ran far over \$200,000. The estimates for Maryland and New York seem rather well established, except from the second fair held for Maryland which has not been determined. Whether this was in addition to these contributions or not is not clear, but the indications seem to be that it was. When the editor of *The Land We Love* (August, 1867) spoke of \$63,000 having been collected by the ladies of New York, he added, "if we mistake not a much larger amount from San Francisco has been remitted by Mr. Fitzgerald." The Reverend W. W. Bennett of Richmond sent a check for \$500 to Governor Worth "being part of a fund contributed by the people of California, through Reverend P. P. Fitzgerald of San Francisco, for the relief of our suffering people in North Carolina and Virginia."¹⁸

The *Sentinel* of January 22, 1867 carried this quotation from the *Louisville Courier*:

A petition from the citizens of Louisville for an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the relief of Southern suffering, will in a few days be laid before the Legislature. It expresses the unanimous sentiment of our people, and we hope that no smaller sum will be thought of seriously. Less than that would be unworthy of Kentucky. So small an appropriation as fifty thousand dollars, when wide-spread destitution exists in five or six States, which private charity is utterly unable to meet would cause the cheeks of many Kentuckians to blush for our parsimonious policy.

¹⁸ Governor Jonathan Worth's Papers, "W. W. Bennett to Governor Worth," April 25, 1867.

Relief work took place in the shadow of the legislative halls themselves. The churches in Washington, D. C., seem to have been the nuclei for a coöperative project. The ladies of the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and the Catholic churches held a fair to raise funds. On April 12, 1867 they had raised two thousand dollars and the appeal was so effective that one woman gave her diamond ring to the cause. In the early summer the ladies sent a draft on a New York bank for \$1300 for the destitute of Union County. It is not probable that this was the only contribution from Washington.

The *Sentinel* of September 5, 1876, under the caption "Our Best Friends" gave a summary of the work for relief, "The entire Southern Relief Fund amounts to \$2,876,809. Of this \$500,000 comes from Louisville; \$321,000 from New York; \$1,000,000 from the State of Maryland; from Boston \$49,127; from Saint Louis \$347,375." It will be noted that reports from California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Washington are not included in the list given.

In addition to the Southern Relief Associations there were other channels through which the whites of North Carolina were served. Many references to the Southern Orphans' Relief Association are given. This association purchased General Lee's birthplace of 2,500 acres of land in 1867.¹⁹ A concert was to be given at Maryland Institute for this enterprise. The organization had some difficulties in the spring of 1867. The agent was charged with fraudulent practices but this was soon settled and the concert was merely postponed. Plans were laid to build a home and school for Confederate orphans. This organization seems to have followed a quasi lottery plan which

¹⁹ *Daily Journal*, January 24, 1867.

characterized some of the Relief Associations. One reference mentions a \$30,000 farm as one of the prizes. Another prize was a thousand dollar grand piano and 120 gifts had been drawn by July 13, 1867.²⁰

Contributions were made by fraternal orders for the relief of the Southerners. The following sums were reported through a local organization: Wisconsin \$1,000, Illinois \$100, New York \$150. The amount from New York was probably the profit from a grand concert which was given at the Academy of Music under the auspices of the Masons. This was not a usual method of raising funds. The Grand Master of the Odd Fellows reported receipts of \$400 from an order in Kentucky for the destitute widows and orphans of the state.²¹ There is no statement in these announcements to indicate that they were to be distributed among the whites in part or in entirety. But the fact that Negro units were just beginning to appear may have some bearing on the matter.

III

The most extensive plans for aid and the greatest amounts of wealth from the outside were expended in the effort to relieve the physical discomforts of the people, but aid was not entirely limited to this field. A great deal was given to assist in educational lines. Here it seems the Negro had the advantage partially because he accepted the free schools which were provided. When the Freedmen's Bureau took up the work of education Major Howard issued instructions for the appointment in each state of a general superintendent of instruction for refugees and freedmen who would "work as much as

possible in conjunction with State officers" who had school matters in charge. This officer was to work for a "general system" if it could be adopted; but if this was not possible he was "to take cognizance" of all that was being done to educate the refugees and freedmen.²² The general system was not set up. The whites fought shy of any move which might suggest social equality of the two races. Consequently the assistance of the Bureau was left almost entirely for the Negroes. The Bureau was helpful in transporting teachers from the North; in building and renting school buildings; and in giving aid and assistance where it was needed. But the whites did not share largely in these benefits. The benevolent societies through which the Bureau worked usually stated that assistance was to be given to all needy, yet when the *United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land's* report on the educational work of North Carolina for 1867 (Vol. 4, p. 16) was made there were 156 schools under its supervision and only two free schools for whites were among these. The whites showed opposition to the attempts to educate them not only by their indifference and failure to accept the advantages offered, but at least in one instance by an open attack upon a free school provided for poor whites.²³ This was probably due to the unpopularity of the Bureau and its methods as on other occasions the whites not only accepted but also sought aid from private sources. Institutions were given donations; individuals profited from scholarships; books were contributed; and other services, although relatively small, must have been of value.

The Reverend S. Milton returned from

²⁰ *Sentinel*, July 6, 1867, quoting the *National Intelligencer*.

²¹ *Weekly Sentinel*, June 25, 1867; *Raleigh Register*, July 23, 30, 1867.

²² "Circular No. 11" in the *People's Press*, August 5, 1865.

²³ J. W. Alford, *Sixth Semi-Annual Report of Schools for Freedom*, July 1, 1868, p. 21.

a successful trip to the North where he received subscriptions in cash, furniture, etc., for Wayne Female College to the "respectful sum of \$3,600." W. J. Palmer, the principal of the Institution of the Deaf, Dumb and the Blind also made a trip North in an attempt to supply the needs of that institution.²⁴ The Greensboro Female College, a Methodist institution, was another recipient of outside assistance. A splendid building was commenced and work to the value of several thousand dollars had been done prior to the surrender, after which nothing more had been done, but in the interval a great loss was sustained by fire. In November, 1866, the Conference Committee on Education reported a plan to rebuild the college on the joint stock principle. The town of Greensboro gave \$20,000 to the undertaking and the Reverend A. W. Mangum and Dr. C. F. Deems were appointed to sell stock and raise money for the enterprise.²⁵ The Reverend Mr. Mangum got \$25,000 on a northern trip while it was said that North Carolina contributed only \$1500—this apparently was outside the donation from Greensboro.²⁶

The Baltimore *Sun* is quoted as saying that citizens of Baltimore contributed \$1,000 for refurnishing the college in Goldsboro, and that all of the articles were to be purchased in Baltimore by the Reverend S. Frost who directed the collection. The editor of the *Sentinel* (February 23, 1867) thought the statement was in error and noted that \$4,000 would be needed for the project but hoped that Frost would obtain it.

²⁴ *Sentinel*, April 11, 1866 (quoting the Goldsborough News); August 17 1865.

²⁵ *Journal of the Thirtieth Session of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South*, November, 1866.

²⁶ *Raleigh Register*, July 12, 1867; *Sentinel*, July 2, 1867.

Some schools offered donations of or reductions in scholarship. The Southern Literary Institute at Baltimore offered a \$100 scholarship for tuition in English, classics, and mathematics to one young lady in each of the Southern States because this institution had enjoyed such a liberal patronage from Southern States prior to the war.²⁷ Daughters of deceased soldiers were to be educated at reduced rates at Mecklenburg Female College.²⁸ The boys had some opportunities also. The superintendent of the Hillsborough Academy offered a scholarship to each Congressional district and one to the state at large. The recipient was to be appointed by the Governor of North Carolina.²⁹ B. C. Hopkins was teaching at Durham, North Carolina where, if the boys were too poor to pay, he taught them gratuitously. So it was said that "many a poor unfortunate boy whose father sleeps in the unmarked soldier's grave and whose mother is toiling with care and labor is taken care of."³⁰

Another form of assistance in education was in the gifts of school supplies. Messrs. A. S. Barnes and Co. of New York gave five thousand volumes of the "Teachers' Library, a series of professional works—designed for self-education of would-be-teachers, and 25,000 volumes of school books for intermediate classes. This gift was estimated at \$25,000 in value. The Messrs. Appleton had a short time previously donated about 100,000 primary school books (*Hillsborough Recorder*, May 15, 1867).

Shuball Hutchins of Providence, Rhode Island, bequeathed \$10,000 for the education and improvement of the South.³¹

²⁷ Governor Jonathan Worth's Papers.

²⁸ *Sentinel*, March 28, 1867.

²⁹ *Western Democrat*, November 27, 1866.

³⁰ *Sentinel*, August 30, 1867.

³¹ *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 15, 1867; June 5, 1867.

It is not stated whether or not these gifts were made with distinction of races. There is the probability that they were designed entirely for the Negro, or if they were assigned to the free schools there was practically the same result as if they had been given directly to the Negroes, since the whites shared so little in the free schools then existing.

One of the most ambitious and enthusiastic workers in soliciting funds for the education of the whites in North Carolina was Miss Mary Ann Buie. She had devoted herself to the care of the sick and wounded soldiers during the war and was known as the "soldiers' friend." She also worked for schools in South Carolina.³² She was instrumental in securing a donation of a site for a school in or near Charlotte from Colonel William Johnston.³³ She also received an offer of buildings in High Point for the price of \$10,000 which she said cost \$35,000 and implored Governor Worth to purchase them. She decided to go to Europe where she declared she would raise a million dollars to educate the white children and asked Governor Worth to secure letters for her from prominent men in the State.

I ought to have one from Governor Graham to Peabody³⁴ so Peabody could introduce me to the million men I want to raise a million for North Carolina I will do it I do not intend to receive one Dollar of it when raising it N. C. will then provide for me This state [South Carolina] promises me \$2,000 for life if I will take S. C. first & raise the funds but my own relations are in N. C. the liberal offer from Fayetteville giving me the buildings must be rewarded. . . .

Governor Worth manifested interest in her plans and went so far as to appoint treasurers to receive the money which she was going to collect.

³² *Sentinel*, January 24, 1867.

³³ Governor Jonathan Worth's Papers.

³⁴ George Peabody, the philanthropist.

The Baltimore Association of Friends of the Southern States contributed to the educational needs of the Friends in North Carolina while administering to their spiritual and physical needs. Bibles, Testaments, and tracts were distributed among 151 teachers and 3,116 scholars of First Day Schools. They reported the organization of 38 schools with 2,143 students, 900 of whom were not Friends. The conditions of maintenance were "that North Carolina Friends should furnish school houses, board teachers, and provide the fuel, with tuition free and that those who do not profess with us pay one dollar per month." The teachers were left to collect the tuition of non-Friends. Books were furnished at cost. The largest number enrolled in any school was 158 and the smallest was 23. The average enrollment was 59½ and the average attendance of all schools was 30. The schools ran from four to ten months. From the time of the organization of this work 12 first class new school houses were built and 11 old ones had extensive repairs made. Twenty-nine "were furnished with new desks and blackboards, and a large portion of them have Sheldon's charts and Gyott's or Mitchell's wall maps; a few have globes." The Friends also maintained a normal school at High Point and a boarding school at New Garden. They reported \$48,876.52 in receipt for 1866 and 1867, and it was said that Friends in Philadelphia made large grants for physical relief which had not passed through their hands. They also claimed that more had been donated from Baltimore Friends than was credited to them. These funds were given by Friends far and near—London, Dublin, New York, New England, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio, and places in the South and West.³⁵

³⁵ *The First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association of Friends*, Baltimore.

The Unitarian Association of Boston set up a free school for white children in New Hanover County, North Carolina.³⁶

The South was fortunate in attracting the interest of one of the greatest of educational philanthropists, George Peabody. He is said to have given away \$4,000,000 between 1852 and 1867—about the rate of \$1000 a day.³⁷ The amount given to the Southern Educational Fund was estimated at \$2,000,000. The great amount of money given was accompanied with detailed plans for allocation. The fund was to be devoted to "well regulated Public Free Schools."³⁸ Colleges, academies, or private sectarian or charity schools were not to participate in it. It was to be based upon a term of about 10 months a year and according to the students in attendance.³⁹

100 pupils averaging daily 85%.....	\$300
150 pupils averaging daily 85%.....	450
200 pupils averaging daily 85%.....	600
250 pupils averaging daily 85%.....	800
300 pupils averaging daily 85%.....	1000

The people were to pay at least twice, usually three times, the amount received from the fund and to bear all the expenses of erecting, repairing and furnishing school houses. They were also to grade their schools and provide a teacher for every fifty pupils. W. A. Graham was asked to serve as a trustee in North Carolina.⁴⁰ The intentions of the donor appeared to be to distribute the funds for the advantages of both races, but it seems that some North Carolinians regarded it as chiefly for the whites.⁴¹

³⁶ *Historical Papers* published by the Trinity College. Series XI. (1915). "Reconstruction in New Hanover County" by Bryant Whitlock Ruark.

³⁷ *Sentinel*, January 15, 1867.

³⁸ *The Land We Love*, 1869, p. 723.

³⁹ *Our Living and Our Dead*, I, 94; Hillsborough Recorder, May 15, 1867.

⁴⁰ *Sentinel*, March 18, 1867.

⁴¹ *The Old North State*, November 12, 1869.

IV

In spite of the hardships which the Southern whites experienced at the hands of the Federal government during the days of Reconstruction there were many services given also. In many instances these services were given through the agency of the Freedmen's Bureau. Representatives of the Bureau had brought upon themselves the mistrust and suspicion of the upper class of white people in North Carolina by the misconduct of some of the officers in engaging in working plantations, running sawmills, and manufacturing turpentine and tar for their own profit. These charges had been clear enough to lead to the discharge of some of the officials. Nevertheless, the Bureau did serve many of the suffering white people in the period under consideration. Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, who has made an extensive study of this subject, says, "Of all the activities of the bureau the most important was the relief of the destitute. It was in regard to this matter, also, that it deserves most praise and least blame."⁴²

In the period immediately following the war the Bureau sought to aid the people by furnishing food and supplies enough to enable them to begin to become self-supporting. There was issued an order from the headquarters of the Army of the Ohio to the effect that upon application to the nearest provost temporary supplies would be distributed as far as practicable to those peaceably disposed who had been deprived of their animals and wagons by "hostile armies" if they would resume their "industrial pursuits." This order also stated that the needy would be supplied "for the time being with subsistence from the Commissary Depart-

⁴² *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. VIII. January, 1909.

ment."⁴³ This was continued until May 31, 1865 when the gratuitous policy was abandoned and the surplus of the Commissary stores was sold to citizens "at the various military posts in small quantities for family use." Citizens were required to take oath that these supplies were to be used for their own families or for the poor, but they were sold at actual cost to the government plus transportation charges. The Assistant-Adjutant General, J. A. Campbell, also declared that political quarrels were to be left to the courts and that "Between the Government of the United States and the people of North Carolina there is peace."⁴⁴ The same announcement regarding the sale of supplies was made in May, 1865 but this time it was definitely stated that the applicant must take an oath of allegiance before being permitted to purchase and an oath that the "supplies purchased" should not be resold. It also provided that all "goods, wares and merchandise, not contraband of war, may be taken to all military posts now or hereafter occupied by the national forces of the United States in the State of North Carolina, in such monthly amounts as they shall desire authority to sell at the respective posts." This also was made conditional to an oath of loyalty.

An order was published in September, 1865 saying that if a loyal citizen who had owned a horse which had been captured from the rebels would identify the horse he could recover it, or "if the necessities of the service" prevented the return of it, he "would be paid for it at the average Government price of the district." Persons to whom animals were lent by the government were permitted to keep them until November, 1865. The Bureau reported, August 21, 1865, "the whole

number of freedmen and white refugees receiving support, either in whole or in part, from the government amounts to ten thousand persons of whom more than two-thirds are entirely dependent." The commissioner stated that although these figures appeared large they were double that number two months earlier when the Bureau took over the complete control.⁴⁵

The *Daily Times* of August 4, 1865 published a copy of a letter from General Sherman to General Johnston in which Sherman said:

I have instructed General Schofield to facilitate what you and I and all good men desire, the return to their homes of the officers and men composing your army—to let you have of his stores ten days' rations for twenty-five thousand men. We have abundance at Morehead City, and if you send trains here they may go down with our trains and return to Greensboro' with the rations specified.

The services of the Federal government were continued at intervals and in various ways throughout 1866. A resolution of the House of Representatives of May 1, 1866 instructed the President through the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen to enquire into the needs of the people and to furnish them with corn and other seed for planting a crop sufficient for an annual supply for each family requiring such relief.⁴⁶ A report of an appropriation by Congress of \$50,000 for seeds to be distributed through the Southern states was published later.⁴⁷

The Bureau reported rations issued to the whites in North Carolina from December, 1866 to January, 1867 as 13,932. The report of the distress of the people led Congress to make a special appropriation of \$500,000, March 30, 1867 "To meet necessities of food not now supplied by the Freedmen's Bureau." Relief was des-

⁴³ *People's Press*, June 10, 1865.

⁴⁴ *The Standard*, May 20, 1865.

⁴⁵ *People's Press*, September 2, 16, 1865.

⁴⁶ *Newbern Commercial*, May 14, 1866.

⁴⁷ *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 17, 1867.

ignated as follows: "one (1) bushel of corn and eight (8) pounds of meat per month for each adult person and one-half the above amount of corn and meat for each child between one (1) and fourteen (14) years of age"; all expenses incurred in purchasing and issuing the food were to be paid from the special fund.⁴⁸

This was not a departure in the practices of the Bureau but a supplementary fund enabling it to extend its services along lines already in use. On November 26, 1866 General Howard had sent a telegram to General John C. Robinson saying "You are authorized to draw from the Commissary Dept. Breadstuffs and Meat for Whites & Blacks when necessary to prevent extreme suffering." This was the basis of a request that Governor Worth would cooperate with the Bureau in the "continuance of rations to the destitute of the State."

After the appropriation of the special fund the Bureau gave a report of persons receiving supplies each month from May, 1867 to September, 1867. North Carolina's part was as follows:

MONTH	WHITE	COLOR- ED	COLOR NOT GIVEN	TOTAL	PORK	CORN
					pounds	bushels
May.....			38	38	212	1,576
June.....	2,035	399	757	3,191	18,208	127,540
July.....	1,466	1,406	926	3,978	18,809	126,902
August...	856	690	1,612	3,158	13,645	89,875

The amount given each person was estimated by the Bureau at two dollars.⁴⁹

The Bureau also tried to aid the poor white women and children by securing positions for them in the manufacturing towns of the North. However, the plan did not work. The *Standard* (December

18, 1867) reported that the Bureau had little success in this "except to give notice to proper parties." Those who were suspicious of the charity of the Bureau might have read into this offer an attempt to aid the northern manufacturers to obtain cheap labor while aiding the destitute of the South.

Dr. Hamilton estimates the expenditures for the whites in North Carolina at \$32,480 plus 62,080 rations. A ration consisted of "Pork or bacon 10 ounces in lieu of fresh beef; fresh beef, 16 ounces; flour or soft bread, 16 ounces twice a week; hard bread, 12 ounces, in lieu of flour or soft bread; corn meal, 16 ounces, five times a week; beans, peas, or hominy, 10 pounds to 100 rations; sugar, 8 pounds to 100 rations; soap, 2 pounds to 100 rations." Women and children were also allowed rye coffee at 10 pounds per 100 rations.⁵⁰ The rations were estimated at twenty-five cents each.⁵¹

Prohibition of imprisonment for debt and a homestead exemption in the event of sale of property by order of the court was a boon to the debtor, but worked a hardship on the creditors.⁵²

J. T. Trowbridge, a traveller through Virginia in 1866, gives the following description of the work of the Bureau there:⁵³

As I was passing Castle Thunder, I observed besieging the doors of the United States Commissary, on the opposite side of the street, a hungry-looking crowd,—sickly faced women, jaundiced old men, and children in rags; with here and there a seedy gentleman who had seen better days, or a stately female in faded apparel, which like her refined manners betrayed the aristocratic lady whom the war had

⁴⁸ *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, January 1909.

⁴⁹ *House Executive Documents*, 40th. Congress, 2nd. Session, Vol. I, p. 640.

⁵⁰ *Raleigh Register*, July 9, 1867.

⁵¹ J. T., Trowbridge, *The South, A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities*, Ch. XXI. L. Stebbins, publisher, Hartford, 1866.

⁴⁸ *Report of the Secretary of War*, 40th. Congress, 2nd. Session Vol. I. pp. 666, 646.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

reduced to want. These were the destitute of the city, thronging to receive alms from the government. The regular rations, issued at a counter to which each was admitted in his or her turn, consisted of salt-fish and hard-tack; but I noticed that to some tea and sugar were dealt out. All were provided with tickets previously issued to them by the Relief Commission. One tall sallow woman requested me to read her ticket and tell her if it was a "No. 2." "They telled me whor I got it, but I like to be shore." I assured her that it was a "No. 2," and asked why it was preferable to another.

"This is the kind they isshy to sick folks; it allows tea and sugar," she replied, wrapping it around her skinny finger.

Colored people were not permitted to draw "destitute" rations for themselves at the same place with the whites. There were a good many colored servants in the crowd, however drawing for their mistresses, who remained at home, too ill or too proud to come in person and present their tickets.

He also states that there were 2,000 whites receiving support in Richmond to 200 blacks. He noted cases of ungratefulness and some spurious claims. Although Trowbridge visited North Carolina, he did not seem to have encountered a distribution center, but from the accounts available the same scene might have been enacted in North Carolina. His description of his visit to the State seems to have been accurate.

Colonel Whittlesey, an official of the Bureau, gave a brief description of a distribution post in North Carolina.⁵⁴

The street in front of the post commissary's office was blocked with vehicles of all the descriptions peculiar to North Carolina, and with people who had come from the country around, in some instances from a distance of sixty miles for rations. These were destitute whites and were supplied by order of the department commander.

Far more was expended by the Bureau for the education and hospital needs of the blacks than for the whites. There seems to have been very little hospital service for

the whites in North Carolina and the proportion of the number of students given on June 30, 1876 will indicate the proportionate expenditures for education. Out of 111,442 pupils enrolled 1,348 were whites.⁵⁵ The consolidated report of the donations for education from private sources would probably show a much larger proportion to the blacks also.

When the Federal government began to restore the mail service in the State it had difficulty in finding enough white men to qualify for the service, consequently many women became post-mistresses. In April, 1866 there was only one Negro who had a mail contract in North Carolina.⁵⁶ This might have been due to the inability of the Negro to meet the bond requirements as well as the necessity for literacy. The Federal agent urged the women to make applications.

In 1865, Governor Holden wrote to the President saying that General Schofield recommended the retention of cotton by North Carolina which had been captured prior to the surrender and was being removed from the state. He said, "in view of the destitute condition of our people I beg you not to enforce confiscation of State property." Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, answered with the command to ship the cotton to New York at once "without regard to state claims." But a short time after McCulloch claimed to have recommended a lax enforcement of the property confiscation provision saying, "I have accordingly indicated to the gentlemen comprising the delegation that our agents should not be too inquisitorial in their researches nor too exhaustive in their labors in this direction."⁵⁷ The *Daily Sentinel* of January 7, 1867 reported the payment to Southern claimants

⁵⁴ *Senate Documents* 36th. Congress, 1st. Session, No. 27, p. 161.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

⁵⁶ *Sentinel*, June 26, 1866; April 5, 1866.

⁵⁷ *Governor William Holden's Papers*.

of \$1,000,000 for cotton captured and confiscated by the United States troops.

North Carolina did not depend entirely upon outsiders to take care of her indigent. The limited financial resources of her first citizens added to the heavy taxes and the expense of supporting relief agencies made her task very difficult. The numerous replies in answer to Governor Worth's inquiry for information concerning the number of destitute show that many of the counties were supporting a large portion of their needy.⁵⁸ The legislature passed an act for establishing "*work-houses*." One of the suggestions for this plan was the possibility of taking care of the unemployed by furnishing them labor and by so doing to render the State a double service.⁵⁹

A stay law was passed which was very popular with many people. Collections of all judgments were set aside until 1868. If one-tenth of the amount plus the interest had been paid the time was extended to 1869. Then by paying one-fifth the residue the debtor was allowed twelve months more, at the end of which time by paying one-half he could secure another twelve months' extension.⁶⁰ This did not apply to debts contracted after May, 1865, nor to those owed to people outside of the State which were subject to Federal courts.

V

The State made a special appropriation to aid the crippled soldiers. Barring the tragedy implied the newspaper notices are gruesome and ludicrous. In the summer of 1866 items concerning this question began to appear. The government sought to obtain the best bargain possible.

⁵⁸ These reports are scattered through Governor Worth's papers.

⁵⁹ *Laws of North Carolina, 1866-1867*, p. 204.

⁶⁰ *Western Democrat*, February 2, 19, 1867.

Finally the news came that Governor Worth had closed the contract with the Jewett Company for \$70 for each leg and \$50 for each arm. This was considered a very good price, for the Federal government was paying \$75. The sheriffs of the counties were to assist in getting the news to the soldiers. Each applicant was required to have a doctor's certificate saying that his limb was lost in the war. Numbers of these certificates are in the Governors Papers in the Historical Commission, Raleigh, some of them are in printed form and some are in the hasty writing of the particular physician. The law was later extended to disabilities and commutation allowed in lieu of the limb. An application certificate follows:

Raleigh, N. C.

Jan'y 8th 1868

This is to certify that I have examined John R. Peaded Co F 61st Rgt N.C.T. and that his left foot was made useless by a wound received while in the service of the State of North Carolina or of the Confederate States

E. Burke Haywood M.D.

The Jewett Co. had a branch factory in Raleigh and the railroads were asked to give free passage so that each applicant might go to Raleigh and be fitted for his limb. A house with barracks was provided "where any soldier may stay . . . without expense, except his provisions which he must bring with him or otherwise procure." The railroads agreed and the sheriffs and doctors began their services.⁶¹ The estimate of the sheriffs showed that 550 legs would be needed. Soon other demands were made, and on February 22, 1867 the legislature passed a resolution to allow \$70 to those soldiers who had lost both eyes, and \$70 for paralyzed leg and \$50 for a paralyzed arm. The artificial limbs were not satisfactory,

⁶¹ *People's Press*, July 13, 1866.

since they could not be used with ease or advantage. It was then that the legislature passed an act allowing commutation money to those who did not choose one. (*Western Democrat*, September 3, 1867.)

Much of the private service was expended in projects associated with the old Confederacy. The ladies of Tarborough gave a series of tableaux and a concert for the Confederate dead in Virginia. The ladies of Raleigh and those of Greensboro contributed funds for a cemetery in Virginia.⁶² The Newbern ladies reported a fund of \$277 for Hollywood memorial.⁶³ Numerous other examples might be cited to show the efforts to memorialize their dead or to aid some living Confederate because of his services to the Confederacy. But not all of their services were given to such causes. Donations for the poor were secured from the ladies' benevolent societies. One of these societies undertook the work in a very systematic manner. The city was divided into twelve wards and a chairman selected for each ward. The plan of the society was to help the sick and helpless only.⁶⁴ As most of the outside agencies had made their contributions without reference to color, so the local organizations seemed to make no specifications for the whites. Individuals made contributions of money, fresh beef, wood, etc. At least one of the ladies' benevolent societies laid plans for a free school for the whites. Ladies were accredited with the work of the Southern Relief Associations, but a study of the functions of these societies shows that many gifts for them came from the men and that the men made speeches, for them, assisted with the business ends and even held offices in the

organizations. So we may conclude that many (and there were many) of the ladies' benevolent societies of North Carolina found some masculine assistance also.

The full story of this work will never be told because the records of countless contributions and services to the unfortunate victims of the war were never made. There can be little doubt that many gifts of money, clothing and supplies of various kinds from relatives, friends, and even unrelated sympathizers found their way to the needy white people of the South in this period. But publicity of such acts was neither desired nor made. There has generally existed among the Southern people a belief that the greater portion of the people of the North were sympathetic and friendly toward the people of the South in this time of difficulty and readjustment. However, the fact that there was such a generous contribution of wealth and services given to alleviate their great misery is a point which has been widely neglected. It seems too that it would be an error to conclude that the services and supplies were given entirely for the Negroes or that the recipients were usually Northern sympathizers. There are too many references to the Confederate soldiers, and to the widows and orphans of the Confederate soldiers to permit the conclusion that in a large measure the supplies were sent for any other purpose than to serve humanity. And to those advocates of democracy this is but another incident in that philosophy which maintains that although often slow-moving and expensive, unkempt republicanism moves ever toward and eventually to that high plane of recognition of fairness and of justice.

⁶² *Sentinel*, April 10, 1866.

⁶³ *Newbern Commercial*, April 9, 1869.

⁶⁴ *Daily Journal*, November 22, 1867.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

T. LYNN SMITH

Louisiana State University

RECENTLY the number and the proportion of aged persons in the population have assumed great social significance. Political ferment among oldsters has spread from California to Maine and has been responsible for fundamental changes in national policy. It is true that under the terms of the Social Security Act, social security refers indiscriminately to assistance for dependent children, aid to the needy and blind, and care for aged persons. However, of the three, old-age assistance or the granting of old-age pensions receives the greatest consideration. In the South, as elsewhere, schemes for old-age assistance or pensions seems to be a sure thing politically.

Perhaps the South should take heart because of Professor Odum's assurance that the Region affords "a superabundance of youth and a small proportion of the aged; heavy burden, on the one hand, for education, and lighter, on the other, for old age security."¹ That such a predominantly rural section as the Southeastern States should have high proportions of children is not surprising to those who have made a study of population materials. But the fact pointed out by Professor Odum, which

is also evident in some of my own studies,² that the South has relatively low proportions of the aged, comes as a surprise to the student of rural demography. For, in general the population of rural areas contains high proportions of aged persons.³ Being in exact contradiction to a

² T. Lynn Smith, "The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes," Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 293*, Baton Rouge, 1937, pp. 29-34.

³ The data for the United States indicate that, in proportion to the size of the population, there were for every 100 urban persons aged 65 years and over the following numbers of rural persons of these advanced ages:

RESIDENTIAL CATEGORY AND RACE AND NATIVITY	MALES		FEMALES	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
<i>Rural-Farm Areas:</i>				
Native white of native parentage.....	115	133	83	86
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	156	169	110	107
Foreign-born white.....	215	214	167	171
Negro.....	142	148	93	107
<i>Rural-Nonfarm Areas:</i>				
Native white of native parentage.....	149	143	132	122
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	200	191	162	160
Foreign-born white.....	164	180	157	165
Negro.....	146	152	127	136

¹ Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936, pp. 93-95.

well-established demographic uniformity, it calls for further analysis.

To explain this unique situation in the South it is necessary to recall another well-known demographic uniformity. It has been observed repeatedly that a long and severe war seriously curtails the reproduction of a population. Post-war Germany is an excellent case in point. Perhaps one reason that southerners still remember the Civil War is that many of its effects still linger in the region. It is precisely this period of strife and general distress that is

normally low proportion of persons 60 to 70 on that account.

For the Southern States there can be no doubt that the small crop of babies in the Civil War decade is directly responsible for a scarcity of adults aged 65 to 70 in 1930. In this respect Louisiana, a "Deep South" state, is rather typical of the South as a whole. Furthermore, although there can be no doubt that the scarcity of births between 1860 and 1870 is reflected directly in the South's small proportion of native white persons aged 65 and over in 1930,

AGE BY 10-YEAR PERIODS FOR THE NATIVE WHITE-NATIVE PARENTAGE
POPULATION IN 12 SOUTHERN STATES, PERCENTAGES: 1870 TO 1930*

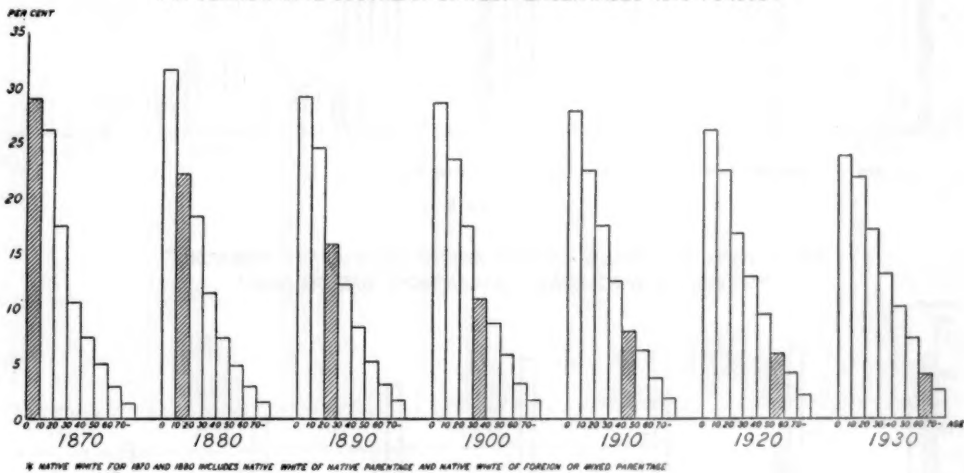


CHART I

the basic cause for the current deficiency of people aged 65 to 70 in the South. That this scarcity of aged persons in the South is traceable directly to the low fertility of the Civil War decade is demonstrated conclusively by Charts 1 to 4. In these age charts the generation born during the decade of the War, 1860 to 1870, is identified throughout the succeeding census enumerations. The charts show clearly that the shortage of southern children in the years 1860 to 1870 is reflected in every Census since that time; in the 15th Census there appears an ab-

it is also important to note that the war factor failed to make much difference in the United States as a whole. This is the case even when the South is included with the other regions. In the Northern States the ravages of war were not so great, and immigration continued to play a significant rôle all through the decade of the strife.

Because persons born during the decade 1860 to 1870 were in the age group 60 to 70 in 1930 when the 15th Census of the United States was taken, we should not be too optimistic about the low proportion of

oldsters in the population of the South. As a matter of fact, one must expect the proportion of aged persons to increase very rapidly in the Region with the result

But in the immediate future it promises to be of even more significance in the South-eastern Region than in the rest of the United States. As quickly as the demo-

AGE BY 10-YEAR PERIODS FOR THE NATIVE WHITE-NATIVE PARENTAGE
POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, PERCENTAGES: 1870 TO 1930*

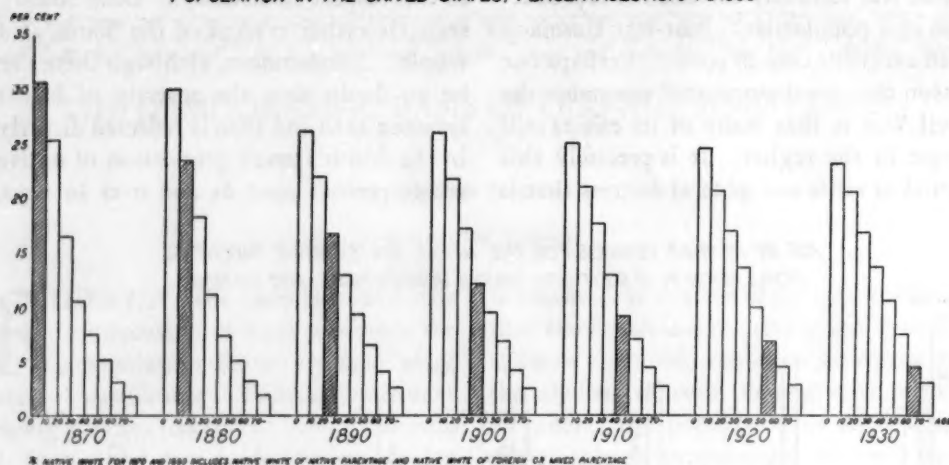


CHART 2

AGE BY 10-YEAR PERIODS FOR THE NATIVE WHITE-NATIVE PARENTAGE
POPULATION IN LOUISIANA, PERCENTAGES: 1870 TO 1930*

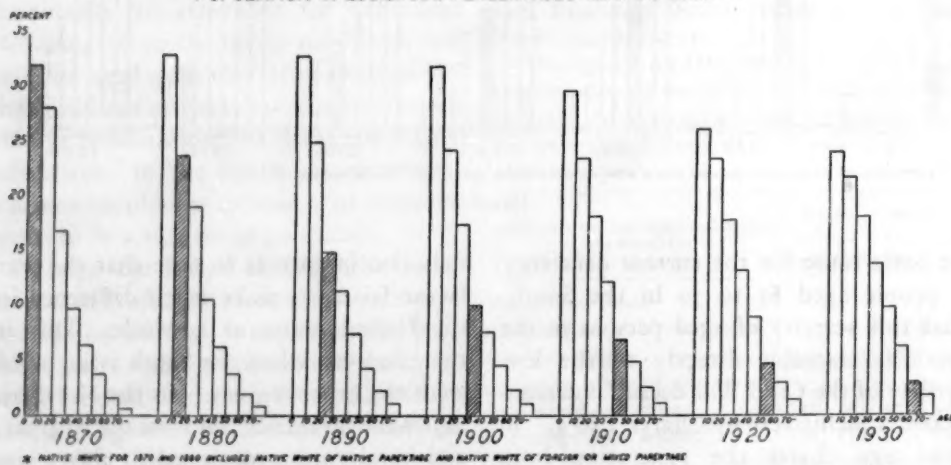


CHART 3

that provisions for old-age assistance are likely to be severely strained.

Throughout the Nation this rapid aging of the population is one of the most important population trends now under way.

graphic effects of the Civil War are overcome, the South must expect its proportions of oldsters to increase even more rapidly than the remainder of the Nation. Much of this will be evident by 1940.

Probably the failure to sense and allow for this inevitable increase is already adversely affecting the administration of social security programs in the South-eastern Region. Certainly it is creating a false impression relative to the proportion of the population receiving old-age assistance. Consider the situation in Louisiana.

According to a recent Associated Press dispatch from Washington, published in the Baton Rouge *State Times* of April 21, 1938, the Social Security Board reported

My own estimates place the number considerably above this figure.

An easy (and conservative) way of estimating the total number of persons 65 years of age and over is as follows: assume that the persons aged 55 and over in 1920 are in the same ratio to those aged 65 and over in 1930, as persons aged 55 and over in the 1930 census will be to the number aged 65 and over in the 1940 census. Actually, for a southern state this is a conservative procedure, since the factor of migration out of the region has been much

AGE BY 5-YEAR PERIODS FOR THE NATIVE WHITE-NATIVE PARENTAGE
POPULATION IN LOUISIANA, PERCENTAGES: 1870 TO 1930*

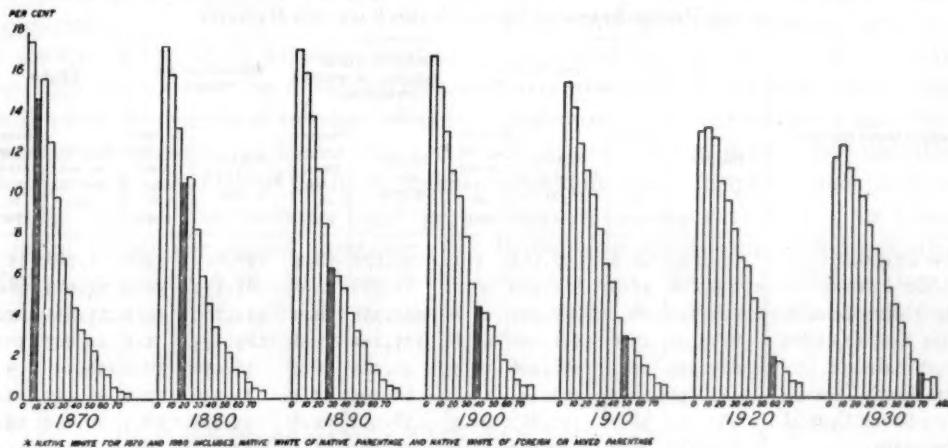


CHART 4

"24,467 recipients of old-age assistance in Louisiana in January, 1938. . . ." The dispatch adds that the board "calculated that 291 of every 1,000 persons in Louisiana 65 and over received assistance last January in comparison with a minimum ratio of eight in every 1,000 in Maine and a maximum of 485 in Utah." If 29.1 percent of the persons aged 65 and over in Louisiana is equal to 24,467, then the board must estimate that there were approximately 84,100 persons of 65 years or over in the state, as of January 1, 1938.

less in the last decade than previously, and there have been some improvements in the life expectation in the Region. Applying this procedure I estimate that there will be approximately 101,800 persons 65 years of age and over reported in Louisiana by the 1940 Census.⁴ By straight line interpolation this would give a total of approximately 96,500 persons 65 years of age and over in the state on April 1, 1938. This is 12,400 or nearly 15 percent above the

⁴ Of course if the prospects of old-age benefits makes the ages 65 years and over more popular than in the past, the number may be even higher than this.

number assumed in the above-quoted dispatch.⁵

For each of the Census geographic regions, the above methodology was employed to estimate the changes in the population 65 years of age and over during the decade 1930 to 1940. In Table I are presented the results, data showing the number of persons of each principal race and nativity group in 1930 together with the estimated percentage changes between 1930 and 1940.

Observation of Table I indicates how

gion did not receive the influx of foreign-born. Native white of native parents and Negroes are the major elements in the population of all the Southern Divisions. In other words in evaluating proportional changes one should remember that the South is inhabited by the race and nativity groups having rates of increase among the aged that are less than the national average.⁶

The estimates of changes in the native whites of native parents and the Negroes are of most concern in the southern part

TABLE I

NUMBER IN 1930 AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF THE POPULATION, 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1930-1940, IN THE UNITED STATES BY DIVISIONS AND RACE AND NATIVITY

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	ALL CLASSES		NATIVE WHITE NATIVE PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE		NEGRO	
	Number 65 and over in 1930	Percent- age in- crease 1930 to 1940	Number 65 and over in 1930	Percent- age in- crease 1930 to 1940	Number 65 and over in 1930	Percent- age in- crease 1930 to 1940	Number 65 and over in 1930	Percent- age in- crease 1930 to 1940	Number 65 and over in 1930	Percent- age in- crease 1930 to 1940
New England.....	549,290	26.8	257,304	5.1	90,274	68.4	197,621	39.8	3,768	41.3
Middle Atlantic.....	1,376,646	31.9	611,300	20.0	281,588	52.6	461,359	34.9	21,683	68.1
East North Central....	1,515,646	28.1	707,955	23.1	347,356	60.9	434,782	12.3	23,897	65.1
West North Central....	875,101	25.6	412,600	22.8	175,111	75.8	269,195	2.1	14,907	30.4
South Atlantic.....	683,939	25.4	466,406	28.5	42,225	56.4	36,252	30.2	138,342	9.8
East South Central....	437,850	22.7	309,464	25.6	21,169	47.4	11,740	-10.3	95,350	14.3
West South Central....	480,797	38.7	317,887	41.3	38,014	62.8	35,463	-20.3	70,134	24.9
Mountain.....	179,576	34.8	87,431	31.8	32,061	73.3	47,870	6.0	1,212	52.7
Pacific.....	534,960	64.7	259,540	61.4	96,605	107.6	163,011	43.9	3,426	107.6
United States.....	6,633,805	31.7	3,429,887	26.9	1,124,403	65.7	1,657,293	22.6	372,719	29.2

closely the Nation's Social Security programs today and tomorrow are related to the productivity gained through the mass immigration of yesterday. It is readily apparent that the foreign elements in the population will account for disproportionately large shares of the newcomers to social security ages. It is also plain that this is relatively insignificant in the South, for the reason that this Re-

of the Nation. The first of these made up more than one-half of the Nation's population 65 years of age and over in 1930, more than two-thirds of the aged population in the Southern Divisions. Among this nativity group the estimated changes in the South are considerably above the national average. Only in the Pacific

⁵ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, "Some Louisiana Population Problems," *Public Welfare in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge, May-June, 1938, pp. 18-19.

⁶ The overwhelming rurality of the Region also tends to depress southern rates of increase, since the estimated increases between 1930 and 1940 are 45.2, 11.4, and 27.7 percent, respectively, for the urban, rural-farm, and rural-nonfarm elements of the Nation.

States and the Mountain States will the increase of these native white oldsters keep pace with or exceed that in the South. In New England, the Middle Atlantic, the East and the West North Central States, increases in aged native whites of native parentage will fall by a considerable margin to equal the rates of increase in the Southern Division. The case in New England is particularly noteworthy. For this area is estimated an increase among aged native whites of native parentage of only 5.1 percent. Most of its increasing old-age assistance clients are to come from the foreign element and particularly from persons born in other countries.

Except for the South Atlantic Division, by 1940 throughout the South decreases will occur in the total number of aged persons born in foreign lands, this total decreasing by one-fifth in the West South Central States. Furthermore, aged persons of foreign or mixed parentage, of slight importance in the South, will not increase nearly so fast in the Southern

Divisions as in the United States as a whole. All in all the trends will confine the South's old-age problem even more to those who are "old Americans," primarily of the Anglo-Saxon and Scotch-Irish stocks.

Throughout the Nation Negroes will graduate into the social security ages by 1940 at a more rapid rate than any racial and nativity group except the native whites of foreign parentage. However, even though the South contains the bulk of the Negroes, a relatively small amount of this increase will be felt in the Region. The rate of increase in every Southern Division promises to be considerably below the national average, and only one-half or less the rate in the non-Southern Divisions. If through back-to-the-land movements the South is not forced to accept responsibility for industry's superannuated, decrepit, and indigent Negroes, the next decades will see a much better regional distribution of responsibilities for this, the most helpless class of Americans, than has prevailed in the past.

EXPLAINING THE SOCIAL SOCIALLY

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ONE of Emile Durkheim's most fundamental methodological postulates prescribes that social phenomena be given a social explanation. This postulate, far from barring an investigation into the non-social influences on social action, affords us a schema of analysis whereby we may evaluate the particular ways in which the non-social affects the social. Durkheim demonstrated the heuristic value of the hypothesis that the social must be explained

socially and that the non-social bears only an indirect relation to the social in his now classic study of suicide.¹

This study of suicide rates remains, more than forty years after its publication, one of the clearest and surest demonstrations of how quantitative data rationally systematized and analytically treated can contribute to the understanding of social phenomena. The volume is truly seduc-

¹ E. Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris: Alcan, Nouvelle édition, 1930).

tive in its efforts to vindicate the author's belief in the reality *sui generis* of social facts. From the viewpoint of social causation, its major contributions are its differentiation of various modes or levels of causation and its development of a schema of analysis for assigning to these levels their particular rôles in the causal conspiracies that produce social situations.

In *Le Suicide*, our first step is to define the problem, i.e. to determine what it is we are seeking to explain causally. Durkheim's immediate search is not for the reasons which lead any particular person to commit suicide, but rather for the causes which in a given society explain the more or less constant and definite *social rates of suicide*. A social rate is one that is characteristically distinctive of a given group or of a subdivision within the group. As regards suicide, statistics reveal that social rates exist for groups of varying complexity, size, culture, religion, marital and familial composition, and political organization. Durkheim's specific and indeed, only concern, is with the wherefore of these social rates, their uniformities and constant variations.²

This first step of definition prevents us from committing the fallacy of particularism. It is understood from the start that we are not seeking *the* cause of suicide; it is assumed that there is no such single cause. A preliminary examination of the suicide statistics confirms this assumption. The data indicate that we are confronted with a welter of operative factors. We find, for example, that: (1) the rates of suicide are higher in the summer than in the winter; (2) they are higher among people suffering from mental diseases than among the mentally normal population; (3) men have a higher suicide rate than women; (4) in the United States the

suicide rate for whites is higher than that for Negroes, but lower than the rate for Chinese and Japanese; (5) older persons have a higher suicide rate than younger people; (6) the suicide rate is higher in urban than in rural areas; (7) soldiers have a higher rate of suicide than the civilian population; (8) Protestants have a higher suicide rate than Catholics; (9) the suicide rate is higher among single, widowed and divorced persons than among the married; and (10) among the latter, it is higher for those who have no children than for those who are parents as well as spouses.

The suicide rates referred to in the above statements are standardized and comparable, and the variations among them must be explained on other than a chance basis.³ We are in the presence of correlated factors which can guide us in our causal pursuit.

Assuming that the variables in the above data are clues to causation, we may proceed to analyze them further. In this analysis, a preliminary task is to classify the various factors on the basis of the level or realm of reality represented by each.⁴ We may distinguish (a) the factors belonging to the *social* realm: religion, marital status, family organization, mode of life (whether rural or urban), mode of occupation (whether military or civilian) from (b) those that are as such *non-social*;

² All of the above statements appear in L. I. Dublin, and B. Bunzel, *To Be or Not To Be; A Study of Suicide* (N. Y.; Smith and Haas, 1933); and all except statements (2) and (4) are found in Durkheim's volume.

⁴ In this discussion of *Le Suicide* we are not adopting the mode of exposition followed by Durkheim. We believe, however, that there is no significant logical difference between the method of analysis we here outline, and the one used by the French theorist. We remain critical, of course, of the extravagant and cavalier manner in which Durkheim used the method of elimination. Nor are we sure that his polemic style makes for clarity. We have, therefore, restated his schema of analysis in more positive terms.

³ *Le Suicide*, pp. 15, 120, 142.

and among the latter we may further differentiate (b¹) the physical factors (seasons, temperature), (b²) the biological factors (sex, race, age), and (b³) the psychological factors (mental disease). This classification is not meant to be complete. It is not necessary for our immediate purpose to mention all the possible factors that affect suicide rates; a representative list should suffice. We omit, for example, purely technological considerations such as the availability and the relative efficiency of various *means* of self-destruction. Durkheim, for instance, relates the case of an incipient suicide epidemic where the wave of self-destruction ended immediately upon the removal of the particular means used by those taking their own lives, in this instance, a certain hook.⁵

Now all these factors influence the rate of suicide. Our focal task is to determine *how*. But *how* must not be confused with *how much*. As Professor MacIver says, to understand social causation, "it is not enough to enumerate factors, to set them side by side, to attribute to them different weights as determinants of change. The first and essential thing is to discover the way in which the various factors are *related* to one another, the logical order within which they fall, the respective modes in which they enter into the causal process."⁶

Let us consider the social factors first. We apply to them what may be termed the method of *direct* breakdown, i.e. we analyze them more and more carefully so as to determine what element in, or what aspect of, them is, according to the various logical tests (and particularly the test of concomitant variation), most closely related to the social rate of suicide. What, for instance, is the feature of religion that

bears relevance to suicide? What is there in Protestantism and in Catholicism that makes the adherents of the former more susceptible to suicide? Is it the particular character of the respective religious beliefs? Is it what Durkheim termed "the obligatory prudence of minority groups"? Our data do not support these hypotheses. More consistent with our empirical evidence is the view that the differential suicide rates of the religious groups stem from the fact that the Catholic church is *as a social group* more closely knit, more cohesive, and more strongly integrated than the Protestant churches. This hypothesis not only permits us to account for most if not all of the other observable variations in suicide rates according to religious grouping, but also is heuristically valuable in our analysis of the other social factors. Among the latter, too, we find that the relevant feature with regard to suicide is the degree of social integration or cohesion that is represented in each. Marriage, parenthood, and rural life make one less susceptible to suicide because they are socially integrative and hence protect the individual against the sense of social isolation. On the other hand, the higher suicide rate among the military as against the civilian population must be understood as resulting from an excessive social integration among the former.⁷ Generalizing, then, we may say that the social rate of suicide varies with the degree of integration of the social group, the rate increasing as the degree of integration goes above or below a certain level.

Thus far, however, we have concerned ourselves exclusively with the social realm and have found that on the sociological level there is a causal relationship between social cohesion and variations in

⁵ *Le Suicide*, p. 74.

⁶ R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Text Book of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), p. 478.

⁷ This rather dubious explanation of Durkheim has been rightly challenged. See M. Halbwachs, *Les Causes du Suicide* (Paris: Alcan, 1930), pp. 85-89.

the social rates of suicide. But what of the non-social factors? How do they enter into the causal situation? Belonging to a different level, their relationship to the social rate of suicide can only be indirect. We must apply to them the method of *indirect breakdown*. This is a procedure which involves analyzing a non-social factor in such a manner as to single out the element or aspect of it which is most closely related to some social phenomenon which bears, in turn, a close relationship to the particular social matter we are studying. We must, in short, make our way from the non-social to the social level.

Consider, for example, the data which reveal a seasonal variation in the suicide rate. Statistics invariably show the rate of suicide to be higher in the summer than in the winter. It's the heat, some geographical determinists have explained. The empirical evidence, however, does not support this contention. But even if it did, the explanation would not be complete. We would still have to trace the connection between heat and suicide. Since these phenomena pertain to different levels, we cannot posit a direct nexus between them. Heat does not cause suicide in the same way that it melts ice. The latter process is purely physical; the former, involving a mixing of two levels of causation, requires a search for intermediate links.

But further analysis of the seasonal data indicates that the relevant physical element is not the temperature, but the length of the day. The latter factor influences the rhythm of social life. The longer day makes for more intensive and more active participation in social events, and this in turn affects the individual's sense of isolation. We thus move a considerable distance from the simple heat-suicide causal formula. We isolate the relevant element

in the seasonal factor and relate it to the social situations. Having arrived on a sociological level we can establish the more direct causal nexus.

Durkheim, we feel, did not pay sufficient attention to the analysis of the seasonal variations of social life. Hence, his particular explanation needs supplementation, perhaps by a study of a modern community in the manner that Mauss and Beuchat investigated Eskimo society.⁸ This comment, however does not reflect on the adequacy of the schema of analysis we are presenting. It is made in order to indicate the need for pursuing this mode of analysis further.

In like manner we subject the biological factors to indirect breakdown. That suicide varies with age, sex, and race is a statistical commonplace. That these factors are not in a biological sense related to suicide becomes clear on analysis. The sex differences in the social rates of suicide, for instance, become understandable only when we analyze the respective social positions of men and women, their different modes of participation in social and economic life, and the varying cycles of their social activities.⁹ Here again, we must move from one level to another. We cannot be content with a simple "sex is the cause of suicide" type of statement. We must show how the factor of sex is socially and culturally defined and how this social and cultural definition influences the suicide rate.

Similarly, we must search for the social intermediates that link the biological

⁸ M. Mauss and H. Beuchat, "Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés eskimos," (*Année Sociologique*, ix, 1906), pp. 39-132.

⁹ The sex differences in the suicide rate tend to diminish when one considers attempted as well as successful suicides. But even the data for total attempted suicides, successful and unsuccessful, tend to show a slight male predominance. See M. Halbwachs, *op. cit.*, Table 4, pp. 73-74.

phenomenon of race with the social rate of suicide. In many instances an analysis of the social composition of a particular racial group provides helpful clues. Thus, the fact that in the United States the Chinese male population outnumbers by approximately 4 to 1 the Chinese female population, is a significant guide to the understanding of the very high Chinese suicide death rate in this country.¹⁰ In fact, a good deal of the "racial" data on suicide has to be reinterpreted in the light of similar social and cultural conditions.

So, too, with the question of age. How the different age-levels are socially and culturally defined, how age affects the cycle of one's social life, how it determines the mode and the degree of participation in social activities are elements that serve to connect the physiological factor of age to the social rates of suicide. A pure and simple direct causal relationship cannot be imputed; it would have no meaning.

The same procedure of indirect breakdown must be followed with respect to the mental disease factor. Psychiatrists¹¹ who make suicide exclusively a psychopathological phenomenon either ignore the fact that of the total number of suicides in a given year only a fraction (estimated somewhere between 20 and 50 percent) are committed by persons known to suffer from mental disease,¹² or they are merely tautological, defining suicide in advance as a mental aberration. As Dr. Dublin, who is favorably disposed towards the psychiatric explanation of suicide, remarks: "It is certainly extreme to assert that all suicides are insane—unless we assume a priori that self-destruction is, in

itself, a definite indication of psychosis. In short we think there are many cases of suicide among those who should be designated as 'sane'."¹³ Moreover, the psychiatric thesis that the cause of suicide is manic-depressive psychosis must be interpreted in the light of the evidence gathered by Professor Bonnafous in his study of suicide in Constantinople.¹⁴ M. Bonnafous found that among the inmates of institutions for the mentally diseased, the notion of suicide, i.e. the desire and the attempt to take one's own life, varied with the cultural level and the social background of the patient. The frequency with which the desire to commit suicide occurred varied rather regularly with the degree of Europeanization and Westernization characteristic of the group from which the patient came. Manic-depressive psychosis, this material tends to show, is "suicidogenic" in Western society, but "non-suicidogenic" in the non-westernized portions of Mohammedan society. Data of this sort suggest that social and cultural factors must be taken into account to explain the manner in which the incidence of mental disease affects the social rate of suicide.

Durkheim's study, then, is a pioneering contribution to social causation. Although he himself may not have fully perceived the significance of his analysis of the non-social factors in suicide, this part of his study is important for contemporary sociology in that it illustrates the fecundity of the type of analysis which deliberately attempts to show how these non-social phenomena are related to the social world in which men live. We must explain the social socially.

¹⁰ Dublin and Bunzel, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹¹ See e.g. F-A. Delmas, *Psychologie pathologique du suicide* (Paris: Alcan, 1932).

¹² Dublin and Bunzel, *op. cit.*, chap. xxii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

¹⁴ See M. Bonnafous, "Le Suicide: Thèse psychiatrique et thèse sociologique" (*Revue Philosophique*, CXV, 1933), pp. 456-475.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

TRANSIENTS IN A NEW GUISE

JUNE PURCELL GUILD

Community Fund, Richmond, Virginia

YEARS ago some of us professional social workers began to wonder just how long taxpayers and philanthropic givers would pour money into social services without noticing that social case work ever requires greater technical training and costs more and more, that uncounted millions suffering from case work problems manage somehow to live without the ministrations of case workers, that it would take more than the national deficit to provide case service for an infinitesimal part of those who really need it, that even in the very restricted area of its demonstration, case work researches are seldom produced.

WHAT HAS CASE WORK ACCOMPLISHED IN TRANSIENT SERVICE?

Social case workers devoutly believe their efforts change the course of human events and reconstruct human patterns. But who is the transient and what, exactly, has social case work contributed to a solution of the problem of transiency? The short-lived Federal transient program cost one hundred million dollars and in the best of times an endless stream of transients crosses and re-crosses state lines. Many transients patronize flophouses and police stations, but others,

no one knows how many, or what percentage of the whole group, regularly shuffle from one social agency to another and back again. But who really knows a transient? Is it correct to use the word transient, as many social workers do, as synonymous with "migratory laborer" or "itinerant worker at seasonal jobs?"

TRANSIENTS NEED CARE, THE PUBLIC PROTECTION FROM TRANSIENTS

This paper gives no final or authoritative answer to any question but summarizes a study I have recently completed of 858 transient men aided by the Richmond Travelers Aid Society in the 76 days ending June 6, 1938. The study at least looks at the transient realistically, presenting him in a new guise. The study has convinced me that social workers are deluding themselves and those who pay their salaries, about transients. Transients need understanding care. But the public needs protection from these clients as much as transients need protection from social workers and the public.

At the outset it should be noted the Travelers Aid Society is a standard case agency, a member of the Richmond Council of Social Agencies; its executive secretary a trained social case worker, a mem-

ber of the American Association of Social Workers; its better than average budget is provided by the Richmond Community Fund; its board of directors a representative group of local men and women deeply and actively interested in troubled human beings and the public welfare. During its last fiscal year the Society aided over 5000 transient cases but less than half the total of such cases sheltered in the city of Richmond annually. During the period covered by this study, the number of transients cared for by the Travelers Aid Society was larger than in the same days in 1937.

After long-time consideration, the Travelers Aid Society, the Council of Social Agencies, and the Community Fund agreed that the psychoanalytical approach and the usual processes of social case work—registering, clearing, interviewing, verifying, recording—seemed to fail in too many transient cases. What were the facts? Social contacts with Richmond transients were often very short, although many of the same men returned to the city again and again. Most transients cared for were far removed from the usual sources of personal and social history, or remained on each visit too brief a time, for social workers to gain a genuine understanding of their individual problems. Everyone admitted, case work plans and therapeutic measures were sometimes based on lies and evasions, misconceptions and preconceptions.

FINGERPRINTING, AN EXPERIMENTAL TRANSIENT CASE WORK ROUTINE

It was decided therefore to fingerprint all transient men and thus enlarge the scope of fact-finding and investigation in their cases. It was believed that through this supplementary routine more intelligent plans would perhaps be worked out *ultimately* for transient care and possibly

some new light be thrown on the whole problem, nationally. Certainly, additional information would be invaluable in attempting to understand and treat hundreds of transients who visit the city more than once. With the adoption of fingerprinting, established case work principles and ethics were neither discarded nor altered.

FINGERPRINTING AN OLD CIVIL PROCEDURE

Although recently recognized as an effective aid in many criminal cases, fingerprinting is older than the Christian era and has long been used to identify persons, civilly; to validate legal documents; or defeat frauds in wills, receipts, oil paintings and so on. Used now primarily as an infallible aid in the protection of those unfairly accused of crime or those actually guilty of crime, there is no more reason against fingerprinting in case practice than there is against the registration and use of vital statistics or the use of a confidential social service exchange. Incidentally it may be added finger-printing equipment costs under \$10 and any intelligent person may learn to take clear, accurate prints in two hours. Records are located at the Federal Bureau of Investigation within three minutes. It costs less to consult the FBI on a client's past history than to consult other social agencies, employers, physicians, teachers, and many other sources of social information but of course fingerprinting must be used as an additional, not a substitute method of case investigation.

FINGERPRINTING OF TRANSIENTS AN ADDED CASE ROUTINE

When the fingerprinting of transients was adopted as a supplementary case work technique in Richmond there was no lessening of respect for the problems,

personalities, confidences of transients. Every possible effort was continued to help transients identify their own difficulties and see the worthwhile aspects in their situations. As always, they were encouraged to share their troubles with the case workers of the Society. The ideals of case work have been followed even when transients have been wanted by the police; only one of the thirteen men studied and wanted by the authorities has been turned over for questioning. It should be mentioned that the old charge in this case was quickly adjusted and the man went on his way free of fear and not as a fugitive. FBI reports are as a rule received too late to use in present treatment but since approximately 25 percent of the men are social recidivists in Richmond, the treatment of their cases in the future should be more intelligent in the city. If only a little clearer understanding of transiency as a national problem is gained from fingerprinting, the experiment is more than justified. One rather unexpected by-product of transient fingerprinting has just been discovered. The mangled body of an unknown white man was found along a railroad in South Carolina and identity was established for a Georgia family entirely through the fingerprints taken in Richmond by the Travelers Aid Society.

CRIMINAL RECORDS OF TRANSIENTS

Of the 862 transient men asking help from the Travelers Aid Society from March 23 to June 6, 1938, only four refused to be fingerprinted. Of the remaining 858 over 61 percent were found to have been previously fingerprinted and recorded at the FBI a total of 2181 times. Nineteen hundred and twenty-five of the fingerprint records were for crime; 256 were non-criminal records taken in other cities. It would be possible to identify only

approximately 10 percent of the male population of the country above 15 years of age from the fingerprint records on file at the FBI. Exclusive of "sleeper" or "lodger" fingerprint records, over 56 percent of the 858 men included in this study were on file at the FBI on criminal charges.

The serious criminal charges averaged over five per white transient and slightly under three per Negro transient. The same relative standing was maintained in the misdemeanor charges which averaged a little under three per white transient and a little over two per Negro transient. These comparisons, although interesting, are not of great value because there were only 36 Negro cases in the group studied. Whether relatively fewer Negroes become transients or are patronizing other Richmond agencies in larger numbers is not disclosed by this study of Travelers Aid Society cases.

A summary of the criminal charges recorded at the Federal Bureau of Identification on the men studied is listed in Table I. Limitations of space do not permit a discussion of the details on the criminal charges against transients. However, almost every crime on the statute books was found recorded against them. For example included in the sex crimes are 5 charges of white slavery, 5 of rape, 2 sodomy, 2 bigamy; miscellaneous charges included arson, conspiracy, extortion, etc.

FBI RECORDS DO NOT TELL THE WHOLE STORY

FBI reports were tabulated as serious when there was at least one serious criminal charge recorded against a man. Drunkenness, begging, vagrancy, similar misdemeanors were listed as non-serious but it should be kept in mind that such charges as these are socially serious when they become chronic. Drunkenness was undoubtedly chronic in a much larger

percentage of cases than the summary of charges would indicate; letters received from social agencies on over two hundred of the men speak of them repeatedly as "heavy drinkers," "chronic alcoholics" and so on. It was found that 13 transients with records for crime in Richmond had

old fingerprint records when the Bureau was organized in 1924 its old misdemeanor files are by no means complete. And yet there was one transient recorded 35 times at the FBI as a drunk; one transient was recorded 33 times on charges of assault and battery, larceny, drunkenness, beg-

TABLE I
FBI CRIMINAL RECORDS ON TRANSIENTS

	SERIOUS		NON-SERIOUS		TOTAL
	White	Negro	White	Negro	
Assaults, including murder.....	52	7			59
Carrying concealed or dangerous weapons.....	10	2			12
Drugs.....	11				11
Larceny.....	216	11	1*		228
Robbery.....	28	2			30
Burglary, housebreaking, breaking & entering.....	91	4			95
Forgery.....	25	1			26
Counterfeiting.....	4				4
Stealing from the mails.....	3				3
Obtaining money or goods by false pretenses.....	15				15
Fictitious checks.....	43	2			45
Sex crimes.....	29				29
Violating probation, parole, pardon.....	18				18
Military offenses.....	24				24
Non-support, desertion.....	12				12
Drunkenness & liquor violations.....	266	7	304	12	589
Drunken & reckless driving.....	27			1*	28
Begging.....	10		18		28
Trespassing.....	19	3	32	6	60
Railroad trespassing & train riding.....	36	2	26	4	68
Vagrancy.....	80	2	108	4	194
Suspicion.....	119	13	65	3	200
Charges not clear.....	74	1		3	78
Miscellaneous.....	49	6	13	1	69
	1,261	63	567	34	1,925†

* Case dismissed; as this was the only serious charge on this case, it has been tabulated as a "non-serious case."

† There were also 256 previous non-criminal fingerprint records.

actually been arrested a great many more times in the city than their FBI records indicated. In fact the Richmond Police Department says that it customarily fingerprints only about 10 percent of the total number arrested in the city. Furthermore, although the FBI took over

ging, etc. The earliest registration at the FBI for transiency was made in 1929. The earliest felony record on these men was made in 1907. The absurdity of social treatment without knowledge of such facts is obvious.

Table II gives the date of the first FBI

registration on the men studied. Of the 97 men shown in the table as known to the FBI ten years or more only 15 had reached their early fifties. Unless future

TABLE II
DATE OF EARLIEST FBI RECORD ON THE
TRANSIENTS STUDIED

YEAR	SERIOUS WHITE CASES	SERIOUS NEGRO CASES	NON-SERIOUS WHITE CASES	NON-SERIOUS NEGRO CASES	TOTAL
1907	1				1
1908	1				1
1911	1				1
1913	1				1
1914	1				1
1915	2				2
1916	5				5
1917	1				1
1918	2				2
1919	5				5
1920	1		1		2
1921	1		1		2
1922	6		1		7
1923	3				3
1924	7	2			9
1925	5	1	2		8
1926	7		2	1	10
1927	16		2		18
1928	15		3		18
Prior to 1929.....	81	3	12	1	97
1929	13	1	4		18
1930	17	1	8		26
1931	15	2	9		26
1932	11	1	5	1	18
1933	26	2	13	1	42
1934	13	2	12	1	28
1935	26	2	38	2	68
1936	20	1	36	2	59
1937	18	2	60	3	83
1938	3		57	4	64
Since 1929.....	162	14	242	14	432
Grand total.....	243	17	254	15	529

methods of study, care, and treatment are more successful than past, considerable criminal and transient activity may be expected from this group for some time.

MANY TRANSIENTS TRAVEL ON LIES

From the FBI reports it was learned that about one-sixth of the transients cared for in this particular group used aliases, some as many as five different names. And such variations in names as Wilson, Walters, Woodson, or Dunning, Durham, Dennis were *not* counted as aliases. Actually such variations in names may have been other aliases and *not* typographical errors. In any event such uncertainties in surnames would add to the difficulty and expense of making reliable social investigations. Roughly 10 percent of the men claimed to be homeless; another 10 percent claimed to be domiciled in Virginia; the others gave their addresses in 34 states, Washington, D. C., and Porto Rico. Letters of inquiry were sent to accredited correspondents in those cases where the addresses were given in detail and appeared on their faces to be accurate. In over 25 percent of these cases no traces of the men could be discovered at the addresses given. Many of the addresses were found to be lodging houses where it is possible the men had lived briefly at some time in the past.

SOCIAL AGENCY REPORTS ON TRANSIENTS

Social agencies in other cities may have failed to locate all the possible transient addresses because of lack of time or interest. They verified 124 transient addresses as given in Richmond. In well over one-half of these cases the transient or his family was well known to social agencies. The reports received indicated there had been much case activity but not much change in the attitude of the men. Typical replies used such phrases as these about the Richmond transients:

"Certified for work . . . did not report"; "Man and his family known to our agency since 1911"; "At time of his departure was working on relief";

"Discharged from CCC for refusing to work"; "Was assigned to WPA but did not report"; "Draws a life pension of \$22 a month from the Navy . . . is a wanderer and does not like to stay in one place"; "Known since FERA and to the CCC . . . here today and gone tomorrow"; "Heavy drinker . . . goes from one government home to another"; "A poor rooming house section . . . had roomed there a long time ago."

TRANSIENTS KNOWN TO RICHMOND SOCIAL AGENCIES

By checking the names and the aliases of the transients through the Richmond Social Service Exchange it was found that 189 of them had been known 339 times previously to Richmond agencies which register. The Richmond Police Department does not register and it sheltered 817 transients during the period covered by this study. Two Richmond cases are briefly cited:

A man who gave a fictitious Pennsylvania address was located in the Richmond Exchange by clearing an alias which appeared on his FBI report. He had been arrested 26 times in Richmond and was wanted at the time for housebreaking in Richmond; only three of his Richmond arrests appeared on his FBI report. This man had been given employment relief in Richmond in 1932 but it was later discovered that he was also working at a regular job. His Richmond family at the time he was fingerprinted appeared to be in need of relief.

Another man known to Richmond case agencies since 1920 was referred to in lengthy case summaries as the "black sheep of a good family". His FBI report listed 18 charges against him for burglary, robbery, assaults, bad checks, drunkenness in five states under various aliases. He had not been arrested in Richmond. Many efforts, apparently all in vain, had been made to stabilize the family.

Of the cases known to Richmond and other social agencies there was just one which appeared to be a real case of leaving home for the definite purpose of seeking employment. This man had evidently wandered from home at least once before as he had an old criminal record in a distant state.

TRANSIENTS ARE CHRONIC CHARITY TRAVELERS

Less than one man in six of the 858 studied had been arrested according to the FBI in the city called home. It was possible to trace the travel movements of transients at least partially from their FBI records:

A Virginian who had been arrested in Georgia, North Carolina, Utah, two cities in Colorado, North Carolina again, returned home to Virginia, went back to California and then appeared as a transient in Richmond;

A Pennsylvania man was first in trouble in Kansas, then in Indiana, California, Minnesota, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, again in Minnesota, finally was sheltered as a transient in Richmond;

A San Francisco man started his FBI record in Massachusetts, was then picked up in three different California cities—never in San Francisco; then came to Richmond.

A Florida man was recorded as arrested in this order: In Florida (never in the place of residence), Washington, D. C., twice in California cities, three times in Texas cities, twice again in Florida, and then was cared for as a transient in Richmond.

TRANSIENTS WANTED BY THE POLICE

From the FBI reports it was learned that 13 men were wanted by the police at the time of their reception and care by the Travelers Aid Society. Two cases are cited:

A small town Virginian who had served time in New York, California, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina was wanted as a parole violator by San Quentin Prison where he had been sentenced for robbery in 1932, one year to life.

A Charlotte, North Carolina, man with a record of 15 charges against him in seven states for larceny, forgery, stealing from the mails, impersonating an officer, etc., was wanted by the United States Board of Parole.

In passing it may be recalled that parole officers are or should be case workers.

Why should not transient case workers coöperate with them?

CONCLUSIONS

It is possible to mention only a few of the more obvious conclusions reached in this study.

First—Many transients are criminal and social recidivists of long standing. They need skilful diagnosis and long-time treatment based on realities and facts. Fingerprint records are a valuable source of social data and should not be ignored in planning treatment.

Second—Fingerprinting is a simple, cheap, infallible method of identification. It defeats fraud and protects the innocent. It should be used to help persons unjustly accused of crime in places where they are not known and also to provide their families with a resource in cases of sudden death and injury.

Third—FBI records show that transients travel vast distances, cross and re-cross state lines, wander about for years. Many do not give their real names to social agencies nor do they always have or disclose a legal settlement. Transients need much study and care which should be given at Federal expense; if necessary men should be required to remain under care long enough to be benefited. At present records and care should be centralized.

Fourth—Transients who come to Richmond, Richmond men who are transients in other cities—sometimes in Richmond—are all the result of complex personal and social conditions, needing more study, correlation, research. A social case worker should approach the problem of transiency with an open mind, as anxious to safeguard the public interest as to shield the individual client.

SOME CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL CASE WORK. II*

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INTRODUCTION

LIKE Stuart Chase who has become conscious of the tyranny of words in his craft as a writer, the social worker has become aware that the words he uses in his art are not easily defined, and have acquired conceptual meanings. In a previous discussion,¹ we have tried to define some of these concepts. The present compilation continues the effort to clarify commonly used terms.

* We are indebted to the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota whose fluid research funds made this study possible.—*Authors*.

¹ See Fenlason, Ratner, and Huff, "Some Concepts of Social Case Work," *Social Forces*, 16, (October 1937), pp. 75-83.

CASE

Case is a word which is used frequently with conflict on the part of the social worker. The explanation for such conflict may lie in the number and variety of dictionary definitions which have seemed applicable to social case workers. The six pertinent definitions are:

(1) "That which befalls; a chance, event, occurrence, or deed; also chance; accident; hap. Obs." (Webster) It is in this sense of the word that we speak of industrial accidents, illegitimacy, and other social problems with which the social worker is concerned. The happenings in these instances involve social disorganization.

(2) "An instance or circumstance of the kind; a special state of affairs; as a case of injustice." (Webster) Instances of this definition in its social work application might be an unemployed man, a child violating the child labor law, or an illegitimate child. In these instances we have personal disorganization.

(3) "Condition; state of things or affairs, as is that the case?" (Webster) This might apply to situations in which an individual needs assistance. It might also be considered a general description of conditions, such as disaster, disease, epidemics, etc.

(4) "A person who is peculiar or extraordinary in some ways: (a character; as, a hard case; he's a case—Slang)" (Webster) In common social work parlance this definition is used more frequently than we realize. It is unfortunate that this should be true and is one of the reasons why social workers should try to substitute some other word more descriptive of the individual or family whose functional relationships are inadequate.

(5) "Med. and Surg. A patient under treatment, an instance of sickness or injury, as ten cases of fever; also the history of a disease or injury." (Webster) The analogy suggested by this definition enabled Mary Richmond to bring into being a new methodology of social work known as social diagnosis applied to individuals. This concept probably did more to further the professional status of social case work than any other single factor.

(6) "Law. a. The matters of fact or conditions involved in a suit, as distinguished from the questions of law; a suit or action in law or equity; a cause. b. Short for case on appeal, case stated, or the like." (Webster)

Although social case workers have followed Miss Richmond's precepts in

borrowing from medicine, in thinking of the word *case* primarily in terms adapted from medicine, she also saw the implications of the legal definitions which have been significant in conditioning our thinking and practices. The medical definition focused on the individual; the legal definition focused on the situation. The two combined constitute the basis of the social worker's idea of a *case* as an individual whose functional relationships are unsatisfactory to the degree that he needs skilled services.

The original use of the word *case* in connection with social work in America can be credited to Miss Richmond. She, in turn, acknowledges that she appropriated it from England. Of this she said:²

The task of social betterment has been described as *case work* in England as far back as the early 90's and perhaps longer. English Social Workers now print the two words as one, without the hyphen even, and so careful a writer as Professor Bosanquet uses *case* interchangeably for the problem or situation and for the person whose problem or situation is to be considered.

Some recent attempts to define case work have shown how the thinking on social case work is developing. The Pennsylvania School of Social Work devotes the first volume of a projected series on social case work processes to the discussion of case work in its structural possibilities and limitations.³ Helen Fisk answers the question of "What Constitutes a Case?"⁴ in this manner:

In private agencies the definition of a case which we have been using for several years is that "a *case* is

² Mary Richmond, *The Long View* (N. Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930), p. 474.

³ *Social Work Process*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Pennsylvania School of Social Work).

⁴ Helen Fisk, "What Constitutes a Case?" F.W.A. A. News Letter, July 1937.

any family or individual for which an agency attempts a service and keeps a separate record."

In the same article, the following definition was tentatively submitted for discussion:

A *case* is a family or individual whose particular needs the agency attempts to meet, including exploration (or investigation) to ascertain the needs and relate them to possible agency function, as well as any form of service inclusive of referrals, information, or advice, provided such service is based on a knowledge or misunderstanding of the specific difficulties presented (distinguishing the case method from the mass or group approach).

Mrs. Sheffield⁵ has made an application of Gestalt psychology to case work by considering a *case* as a "need situation" presenting separate problems. The *Social Worker's Dictionary*⁶ also emphasizes the point that *case* is "the particular social situation or problem which he is seeking to control (not the person or persons concerned)."

The effort to limit the use of the word *case* to the situation probably has been unsuccessful because no entirely satisfactory term has been found to designate the individual involved in the situation. Although Miss Richmond strongly advocated the word "client," the attempt never met with complete acceptance. The failure may have been because the analogy of the work of the lawyer and social case worker is faulty and also because of a social and professional distance implied between the individual in need of assistance and the social worker.

A client in Roman history was one of a class of dependents attached to the patrician families. The dictionary carries this derivation forward by defining a client as "a dependent; one under the protection

of another." This concept is contrary to one of the fundamental principles of case work; namely, that the case work process, to be constructive, must be based on full participation of the individual, and the relationship must involve reciprocal elements between the individual and the case worker. Virginia Robinson articulated this forcibly when she challenged case workers with the idea that no one was capable of doing case work who was not willing to have the process applied to himself. The untrained worker is more apt to think of a case as a dependent person than the trained worker with a broader and better formulated basis of understanding. Another dictionary definition of a client is "one who consults a legal advisor in order to obtain his professional advice or assistance, or submits his cause to his management; also broadly, one who employs the services of any professional or business man as a customer." This definition is inapplicable in social case work practice because, with relatively few exceptions, the social case worker has not achieved a professional status that would warrant a fee for his services. A good discussion on this point is afforded by Cannon and Klein.⁷

When *case* is employed as a prefix to such words or phrases as case work, case worker, case record, case work method, case conference, case count, case load, case interpretation, case analysis, case treatment, or case evaluation, they must all be defined by the word *case* first, with the concomitant word conditioning and further defining the usage. The suffix thus virtually acts as a structural framework within which the word *case* may function in any of its manifestations.

All of the foregoing concepts have been

⁵ Ada Sheffield, *Social Insight in Case Situations* (N. Y.: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937), p. 3.

⁶ *Social Worker's Dictionary*, University of California Press, 1937.

⁷ Mary A. Cannon and Phillip Klein, *Social Case Work, An Outline For Teaching*, (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1933), pp. 13, 14, 17.

framed from the standpoint of the worker. It would be both interesting and valuable to know whether the term *case* had any meaning to the persons the case workers serve and what that meaning is. We have had testimony that applicants in public relief offices have been known to call and refer to themselves as case number thus and so without seeming resentment. Whether or not they regard *case* only in relation to the record and whether they would be willing to accept it as descriptive of their relationship to the agency is a matter of conjecture.

PROBLEM

Case workers have developed a meaning of the word *problem* which is peculiar to their own field of practice, and which differs signally from the dictionary, sociological, and psychological definitions of the term. The social worker's idea of problem, though unique, seems to offer no conceptional confusion to him. Webster's dictionary defines a problem as,

the formulation of a situation in which certain elements, factors, or conditions are known and others are unknown, the suggestion or implication being to discover the unknown elements, factors or conditions.

In the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary we find problem defined as,

1. A difficult question proposed for solution; a riddle; an enigmatic statement. 2. A question proposed for academic discussion or scholastic disputation. (b) Logic,—the question involved in a syllogism, and of which the conclusion is the solution or answer. 3. A doubtful or difficult question; a matter of inquiry, discussion or thought. 4. Geom. A proposition in which something is required to be done. App. to theorem. 5. Physics and Mathematics. A question or inquiry which starting from some given conditions investigates some fact, result, or law. 6. Chess. An arrangement of pieces upon the chess board, in which the player is challenged to discover the method of accomplishing a specified result.

The Students' Dictionary of Psychological Terms defines problem as,

a situation in which, knowing certain of the elements, it is desired or required that the others be ascertained. The situation may be a practical one, the unknown elements the necessary adaptive response. A true solution of a problem, however, implies more than "ready-made" or automatic responses or the routine operation of rote memory.

All of these definitions refer to conditions and factors within a single situation. The sociologists, by their application of the word to social conditions, paved the way for its further adaptation by social workers. Sociologists have taken *problem* out of its dictionary definition and employed it to mean a deviation from some vague norm. One of the earliest definitions was that of Hornell Hart's⁸ which described it thus: "A social problem is a problem which actually or potentially affects large numbers of people in a common way so that it may best be solved by some measure or measures applied to the problem as a whole rather than by dealing with each individual as an isolated case, or which requires concerted or organized human action." Bossard⁹ speaks of social problems as social situations responsible for deviations below the normal. Case¹⁰ says the term social problem refers to "a situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society, and appeals to them as calling for adjustment or remedy of social, i.e., collective action of some kind or other."

The Milford Conference Committee¹¹ has accepted the sociological interpreta-

⁸ Hornell Hart, "What is a Social Problem?" *American Journal of Sociology* (November 1923), p. 349.

⁹ James H. S. Bossard, *Social Problems* (N. Y.: Harpers and Bros., 1934), p. 1.

¹⁰ Clarence M. Case, "What is a Social Problem," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII, p. 268.

¹¹ *Social Case Work, Generic and Specific, An Outline* (A.A.S.W. Publication, May 1935), p. 16.

tion of a social problem as a deviation in their attempt to define social case work. They recognize one of the eight aspects of case work as dealing "with the human being whose capacity to organize his own social activities may be impaired by one or more deviations from accepted standards of normal social life." The deviations referred to in this definition encompass phases ordinarily considered as social problems.

One of the newest and most useful of the sociological concepts of social problems to the case worker is that of Elliott and Merrill, who consider such problems as crises made up of many elements leading to personal disorganization.¹² This last interpretation transfers the problem from its categorical setting and endows it with a dynamic meaning.

The *Social Worker's Dictionary* defines *problem* as "any social situation which some group regards as in need of adjustment by collective action." It will be noted that in this instance the word *situation* is the keynote of the definition itself. A social case *problem*, if we are to use it in a sense that leads to therapy, must be considered as a situation rather than a categorical listing of deviations of some ill-defined norm; as a dilemma made up of many factors inseparable from the life and personality of the individual.

It must be remembered that the description of the dilemma may be very different from the standpoint of case worker and that of the individual in the case work situation. Good case work makes it imperative that the interpretation of the client's problem by the case worker and by the client himself, be not discrepant.

The employment of the term *problem* presupposes a frame of reference. There is much lack of uniformity among case

workers in judging what is to be considered a problem, and from whose point of view. Case workers have been guilty of seeing situations which they considered problematic and upon which they busied themselves. Where the clients did not likewise consider them problematic it is not surprising that the efforts so often were futile. Mistaking the client for the problem, and then treating him as though he were the problem is a common fallacy in social case work practice. There is a failure on the part of the case worker to realize that the most effective results may be obtained by treating simultaneously the problem that the client has and recognizes, as well as treating the client that has the problem.

DIAGNOSIS

Diagnosis is defined in Webster's New International Dictionary as (1) "Med. The art or act of recognizing the presence of disease from its signs or symptoms and deciding as to its character; also the decision arrived at. Cf. Prognosis. (2) Scientific determination of any kind. (3) Bot. and Zool.; A concise technical description of a species or group, giving its distinguishing characters. (4) Critical perception or scrutiny, esp. perception of, or judgment concerning motives and character." Warren's Psychological Dictionary defines it as (1) "The procedure by which the nature of a disease or disorder is determined by study of its origin, its evolution and the signs and symptoms manifested by it; (2) The determination or identification of a disease by such procedure."

Miss Richmond's application of the term to an individual in adverse social relationships has been clear and direct. She defined it as "the attempt to make as exact a definition as possible of the situation and personality of a human being in

¹² Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (N. Y.: Harpers, 1934), p. 62.

some social need of his situation and personality, that is, in relation to the other human beings upon whom he is in any way dependent or who depend upon him, and in relation also to the social institutions of his community." Acceptance by social case workers of this concept of social diagnosis was complete and uncritical for more than a decade. Virginia Robinson¹³ was one of the first to question the analogy when she wrote, "The process of diagnosis, scientifically conceived by Miss Richmond, is therefore, an effort to put together a patchwork of external impressions gathered by the process of investigation, while treatment becomes a rearrangement of these pieces in the environment in accordance with some social plan of well being which the worker has in mind for the situation."

The Milford Conference report attempted to clarify the definition of diagnosis by describing the method as one by which the social case worker reasons through a mass of assembled data to conclusions in terms of the problem toward which these data point. After the gathering of the social history, an attempt is made to formulate a diagnostic summary by this method. The process of diagnosis, however, is a continuous one and is used whenever the worker is trying to establish the significance of the information secured. More recently, Cannon and Klein¹⁴ have pointed out that the borrowing of the term *diagnosis* from medicine has led us into the dangerous habit of classifying symptoms rather than to an understanding of them. They regard diagnosis as only one of seven technical methods in social case work practice, the others being conceived of as definition of

the social case work situation, social study or investigation, forecast or prognosis, plan, treatment, and evaluation.

Margaret Rich¹⁵ conceives of *diagnosis* as a complicated, selective, and *continuing* process:

Diagnosis determines not only the need of the socially maladjusted individual, but also what part of this need present social case work skills are competent to treat, for what part the client cannot use available help, and to what extent calling attention to needs he does not recognize would be likely to increase rather than decrease the individual's achievement of a dynamic equilibrium between his inner and outer drives. Diagnosis begins with the first contact with the individual and continues throughout the relationship. Skillful social diagnosis is a differential diagnosis and its findings will shift and change not only with the acquisition of additional factual knowledge but also with the response of the individual to the varying services the case worker offers.

A psychiatrist suggests that understanding the client's problem is really making a diagnosis. To many social workers the phrase *social study* is synonymous with *diagnosis*. To others, social study means the data individualizing a person in his environmental, biological, and psychological relationships, with diagnosis limited to an analysis and interpretation of these data.

Education uses the term diagnosis in a more scientific adaptation, and one which has important implications for the social worker who hopes to make his interpretation of greater reliability. It is of value to consider the characteristics of a satisfactory diagnosis as set up in the field of education and to observe to what extent our own criteria approximate them. In this field, a satisfactory diagnosis

- (a) must concern itself with worthwhile objectives,
- (b) must provide valid evidence of strengths and weaknesses related to the objectives, (c) must be

¹³ Virginia P. Robinson, *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), p. 182.

¹⁴ Cannon and Klein, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 593, 594.

¹⁵ Margaret Rich, "Social Case Work," *Social Work Year Book* (1937), p. 455.

reasonably objective, so that other competent persons may arrive at similar results in following the same diagnostic procedure, (d) must be reliable so that additional diagnoses covering other samples of pupil reactions will not give widely different results, (e) must be carried to a satisfactory level of specificity, (f) must provide comparable data, (g) must provide sufficiently exact data, (h) must be comprehensive, (i) must be appropriate to the program of education desired, (j) must be practicable, and (k) should be conducted by persons who are well qualified as educational diagnosticians.¹⁶

It is clear that *diagnosis* in our own current use of the term, does not subscribe to the standards and definition implied in the characteristics given above. There is, however, little reason why increasing carefulness in the manner of its use should not make both for specificity and accuracy in the meaning of the concept to the social case worker. The main difficulty seems to have arisen in our failure to carry through to completion the two steps basic to diagnosis,—measurement or appraisal of the data studied, and interpretation or inferences drawn therefrom. The social worker is prone to select his evidence or basic data from too narrow a range, and often on a preconceived analysis of the situation. The interpretation is done on the basis of insufficient data and a faulty diagnosis results. Where the diagnosis has been made thus, it may either be in the nature of a classification or it may go further and be an erroneous conception of a case-situation. In either event it is not apt to be one on which successful treatment may be based.

The concept of *diagnosis* is only helpful to the social case worker when it does connote both adequate data and adequate and correct interpretation of that data. It takes the form of suggesting that in the light of the situation as defined, if certain things specifically stated happen, or can

be made to happen, a result in specifically stated terms is probable. The medical field would hardly sanction the social worker's concept which focuses the attention on the possible success of his efforts rather than the probable outcome of the disease itself.

PLAN

Social case workers, in their understanding of the word *plan* have not modified materially the applicable dictionary definitions as a formulated or organized method according to which something is to be done; "a scheme of action, project, design; the way in which it is proposed to carry out some proceeding."¹⁷

Social workers have articulated their own definitions as to the procedure to be followed to improve or remedy the particular case situation under consideration and as to a method which puts into social case work both an economy and an effective concentration of effort. It precedes every important step taken by the worker. Plans which are reduced to writing should provide an important check on the adequacy and relevancy of steps taken later for the purpose of clearing up the problem.

Too often, however, we observe from case records that the concept *plan*, as employed in social case work, seems to refer to any random action to be undertaken on a problem, without particular reference to its effectiveness or to its relation to other action that has been carried out, or to the treatment goal. In these respects it is entirely different from the dictionary definition, which refers to a formulated or organized method according to which something is to be done.

In its relation to treatment, another misuse of the concept of *planning* is that it is employed in connection with a con-

¹⁶ "Educational Diagnosis," *Year Book, National Society for the Study of Education*, 1935, 34, pp. 110-111 (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co.).

¹⁷ Shorter Oxford English Dictionary—Vol. II (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1933).

sideration of problems as symptoms rather than a utilization of the actual latent securities within the situation. An outline of "problem-plan-and-treatment" has been used frequently as a substitute for a well thought out analysis or evaluation of a case situation.

As in problems, plans should have reference as to *whose* plan. Here again good case work demands that there shall not be a domination of the case worker as to the plan to be followed. *Plan* on the part of case workers is subject more to *misuse* than to *misunderstanding*.

THE NONRESIDENT

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WHENEVER three or more social workers have their heads together these days the chances are that they are talking about the non-resident. Some see the problem from the point of view of the individuals concerned, others see it as it affects the community, and a compromise is hard to reach.

It is not the question of what should be done about the transient, the person who has been on the road for any length of time, that arouses the controversy, for social workers are agreed that a national program is needed for the rehabilitation of these people. The debate concerns two other types of nonresidents: first, the family who moves into a community expecting to be self-supporting and then finds itself in need of financial assistance before it has lived in the community long enough to meet the eligibility requirements for relief; and second, the family who moves only a short distance, may even be within walking distance of its original home, but who has nevertheless crossed county or state boundaries and is still in need of relief.

Most relief agencies will give aid to nonresidents only on the condition that they will return to their place of legal settlement if it can be established, and

therefore ordinarily all assistance is denied to those who have come such a short distance that it appears they could return if they really desired to do so. The difficulty is not, as is sometimes true in the case of transients, that it is hard to determine the place of legal settlement, but rather that the people have moved for what seemed to them to be good reasons and often these reasons still hold good.

Believing that in the long run they will be better off where they are, they will refuse to return and if refused aid will "starve it out" for the necessary length of time, and then when they are finally eligible for relief they may be so broken in health and spirit that in the end they cost the community much more than they would have if they had been given the assistance they needed when they first applied. Such families may live a hand to mouth existence for months, during which they constitute a potential community menace as a disease can be carried as readily and a crime committed as easily by a nonresident as by a resident, and during which a lifelong antagonism on the part of the family toward the agencies in the community may be aroused.

To many persons who have dealt with this type of problem restrictions on the right of people to live where they will

seem un-American. Traditionally we have honored those who have moved about in an effort to improve their lot and have called them pioneers, and we have prized as one of our basic rights in this democratic land that of being allowed to go where we pleased without hindrance within its borders. It is asked whether he who is so unfortunate as to have no job is to be classed with criminals who, while on parole, may be required to get permission before leaving the territory in which the court that found them guilty has jurisdiction.

Also, it is pointed out that our economic system demands that labor be mobile, that the country's recovery will probably be slowed down if persons who desire work are forced to remain where they see no prospect of finding jobs and are not allowed to seek opportunities wherever they think they can find them. Stated in this way, the requirement that a person receiving relief must stay in one county, or even in some cases in a particular subdivision of a county, if he would continue to receive it, sounds more like peonage than what we like to think of as the way of life in a democracy.

Thus from the theoretical viewpoint it is rather easy to show that from the economic, the democratic, and the humane standpoint the requirement that a person must acquire legal settlement before being granted relief is something that should not be, but we learned long since that in putting a relief program into practice many things have to be considered in addition to the rights of the individuals involved. The goal to be reached is never as obvious nor as easily attained as it seems at first glance when it is unclouded by the many side issues that arise as soon as one goes to work on the problems that arise.

In this matter the first such issue to be

raised is that most communities maintain that they can not be more hospitable to the nonresident than are the communities around them lest the result be a net gain in relief population, especially if the community has a higher standard of relief than does the surrounding territory. It is because they realize the validity of this objection that so many of those in social work believe that there should be State and Federal participation in the cost of all types of relief, since it seems logical to assume that the larger the area from which the money for relief is drawn the less important will be the matter of residence in a particular locality.

While this participation in the cost of relief by larger government units might decrease somewhat a community's reluctance to aid nonresidents, it would not cause communities to welcome them, to judge by the prevailing attitude that has been shown in the case of categorical relief in the cost of which the state and federal government already participate.

It might be easier to understand the reason for this if a concrete example is taken, such as any of the more urban counties in North Carolina. In the first place it is surrounded by rural territory and therefore its Works Progress Administration wage scale will be higher than in the counties about it, it will have a higher average relief allowance in all probability, and it will almost certainly have better medical facilities. The result is constant pressure from all sides on the part of those receiving relief in neighboring counties who wish to move into the urban county which offers these advantages in addition to the fact that to many an unemployed person a city appears to offer more chances for employment than does his own small village.

If by moving a few miles and thereby getting on the other side of a county line

a Works Progress Administration worker can assure himself of higher earnings it is but natural that some should wish to move primarily for this reason, although of course such persons would always be a very small percentage of the total relief load. In the same way higher relief allowances will attract people receiving direct relief, while the ability to get free medical service at clinics may actually be a life and death matter to these dependent families.

As long as direct relief is paid out of county tax funds it is understandable that county officials should resist any effort of persons out of the locality to move in if it appears that they may need this type of assistance, but some are surprised to find that the counties also object to allowing those who work on relief projects or who receive categorical relief the right to move about at will.

Since Works Progress Administration wages are paid out of Federal funds and since the Works Progress Administration itself does not care how long a person has lived in the locality in which he applies for work, it is argued that residence should be a matter of no moment. Counties, however, generally refuse to refer for work persons who have not gained legal settlement in the county, their point of view being that if a man on work relief gets ill his family will have to be fed, and his doctor's bill will probably have to be paid out of public funds, and that if he is laid off a project, either temporarily or permanently, he immediately joins the group of resourceless unemployed who are totally dependent on relief.

If the reluctance to accept families on work relief into a new community is due in part to the public's belief that the work program will not last forever and that sooner or later those working on it will be laid off and so become dependent on

some other type of aid, this is not true of those on the General Assistance program. This seems to have been generally accepted as permanent. Thus most people have come to think of the program of assistance to the aged, for example, as something that will be continued in one form or another, yet communities object to having persons receiving Old Age Assistance move in from other localities.

There is not the fear that the persons will become dependent on direct relief funds, nor does the objection to letting them move in appear to be based so much on the fact that a fourth of their small grant is paid by the county as on the fact that communities do not want to attract the non-selfsupporting in any case. This seems to be the crux of the matter; the public does not think that people on relief make satisfactory citizens and does not want any more of them in the community than can be helped.

Even though many of the unemployed are merely victims of the present economic upset and can not be charged with any worse sin than that of being unlucky, it can not be denied that as a group they can not help but contain a larger proportion than does the general population of those who are physically or mentally under par, or in some other way handicapped in the struggle to find jobs and to hold them. If there are many walking the streets hunting work who are potentially good workmen, it is also true that in general it is the incompetent who are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get them back. In addition to this, the general public is apprehensive about the effect that being on relief has on people, believing that in general it tends to sap their stamina.

Because of this attitude of the public, State and Federal participation in the cost of relief does not have exactly the effect

that those who advocate it hoped that it would. For example let's consider the matter of allowing those receiving Old Age Assistance to move at will within the state, a right that theoretically there is no reason to deny them. As these people become feebler and feebler it is often necessary for them to move in with relatives, and these may live in a different county from that in which the aged person first applied for his grant, so that it seems proper that the law allows them to move about. Nor would it seem that the counties should object since they have the right to terminate the grant if an investigation shows that the person does not need it after moving into the county, and in addition the counties may accept these nonresidents even though their quota is filled, so that they are not in the position of having to refuse to accept a resident in order to give the grant to a nonresident.

On the other hand it must be remembered that the amount of the average grant depends in part on the amount that the counties appropriate to pay for their share of this type of assistance, and that the average grant varies from county to county. The result is that some of the aged tend to move from counties with low average grants to those with higher and, even more unfortunately, openly give this as their reason for moving. Recently in one county which has one of the highest averages in the state three persons in one week came to the welfare department to find out how to transfer their allotment so that they could get it from this county, and all three gave as one of their reasons for moving the expectation that they would get more. One of the county officials, who up to then had been proud of the fact that his county stood high in the amount of its grants, and had been heard to boast about it, then decided that perhaps it did not pay a county to give

more than other counties did and that at least it should keep the fact a secret if it did.

A flagrant, and admittedly non-typical, example of what can happen is the case of a woman receiving Old Age Assistance who, when asked why she had moved half way across the state to live with distant relatives after having lived with her sister for years, stated that when she had complained that she could not live on the amount that she had been receiving in a rural county, she had been advised to move if she could and had been told just which counties in the state had the highest averages.

Thus, allowing relief recipients to move about freely can cause communities to lower relief standards in competition with each other even though the greater part of the cost of the relief is borne by the State and Federal governments. If the Federal government should pay the total cost of relief to nonresidents, no matter what type of relief was needed, the communities would still want to be certain that they would not be called upon later to accept responsibility for these people. Also, doubtless some would be tempted to lower standards and drive people out to other localities where they would be nonresidents and so the responsibility of the Federal government. At present driving people out is a rather futile policy since they are returned by the communities to which they go.

That the number of nonresidents applying for relief at any one time is a small percentage of the total relief load makes little difference, for when did statistics ever cause people to change their minds about anything? When the man on the street begins to complain that the local relief policies are so liberal that people receiving relief in neighboring communities are being attracted by them, then the very

basis for a welfare program, its popular support, is giving away. For this reason those social workers who have seen a community's program demolished, with this issue being the most frequently voiced, are inclined to weigh carefully the undeniable right of an individual to move about against the effect that permitting dependent families to do so may have on local relief standards. While ideally there should be no artificial barriers to the free movement of the people, nevertheless regulations regarding legal settlement may appear as a bulwark surrounding a community within which the public may come to pride itself on high standards of relief. To decrease the restrictions, or to permit people to leap the wall by granting exceptions, may seem to have the result of leveling relief standards downward, of lowering them in communities with comparatively good ones without causing any corresponding betterment in communities that have not built them up.

The whole matter is further complicated by the question of what is a nonresident. This is sometimes difficult enough to determine from a legal viewpoint, and becomes even more so when considered from the standpoint of its effect on public opinion, when it becomes a psychological matter. Communities differ widely in their reaction to the nonresident, and many factors besides size determine this. It is not always the densest centers of population that are the most cosmopolitan, since the length of time the community has been settled, the homogeneity of the population, and the traditional attitude toward outsiders are all involved. In some places the population is divided in its own mind according to nationality, religion, class or political faith, while in others the main division is into natives and outsiders, with the latter being more or less openly resented by the former.

For example, in some places there would be no criticism of the policy of allowing a man to return to the community and receive relief, even though he had been gone for years and had lost legal settlement, if he had grown up as a boy there where his people had lived. On the other hand, there might be a great deal of grumbling among the public over the giving of relief to persons who had lived there just long enough to establish legal settlement. Also oftentimes people from distant places are more readily accepted by the community when they apply for relief than are people who live nearby. This is due in part to the antagonism that exists frequently between neighboring sections, and in part to the belief that people from a distance are much less likely to have been attracted by the local relief policies.

It is for this reason that some think that the solution lies in allowing the social workers to make exceptions when it appears to be better for the individuals involved that legal settlement requirements be ignored, or in other words permitting legal settlement to be determined on a case work basis. This compromise, however, seems to satisfy nobody except those who propose it. The public is unwilling to allow that much discretion to its social workers, especially since both its prejudices and its pocket book are involved. The relief clients themselves object violently to what seems a policy of discrimination, if they find that some are accepted as the responsibility of the community while others who have lived there just as long are not. They may find the fact that they are not entitled to relief according to the law difficult enough to accept, but to explain to them that their reasons for moving are not considered as adequate as those given by others is an almost impossible undertaking. To them

the obvious explanation is that some have "pull" and others do not.

Establishing what should be considered justifiable reasons for moving and what should be considered unjustifiable ones is difficult enough; to determine what is the true reason for a family's moving is even more difficult. Believing that in a democracy policy forming should be left to the elected representatives of the public, many think that social workers entrench on this function when they ask for power to override the law in this instance.

Perhaps the trouble is that we seek a solution to a problem that has no one solution but that must be approached from a number of fronts. State and federal relief programs can do something toward encouraging uniformity among the localities as to requirements for legal settlement, and in so far as the public comes to trust the social worker to protect

its longtime interest as well as that of the individual concerned the more willingly will it permit her the use of discretion in carrying out established policies. A more thorough general understanding of the factors causing the present amount of dependency will tend to make people more charitable toward those who are now too often thought of as being merely undesirable citizens.

In the meantime those who are dealing with the problem can only do their best to lessen the hardship borne by the individual without thereby undermining local support for their program of aiding those in distress. It is as necessary to know the probable reaction of the community as it is to understand the needs of the individual if one wishes to determine in advance the final effect of policies and procedures dealing with the establishment of legal settlement for the purpose of receiving relief.

JOHN ANISFIELD AWARD

The following announcement comes from the Social Science Research Council:

The fourth annual John Anisfield prize of \$1,000 has been awarded to Professor Charles S. Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science at Fisk University, for his book *The Negro College Graduate* published by the University of North Carolina Press. This award was established in 1934 by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf of Cleveland, Ohio, in memory of her father, John Anisfield, for the purpose of encouraging and rewarding the production of good books in the field of racial relationships, either here or abroad. The committee of judges consists of Henry Sidel Canby, Contributing Editor of the *Saturday Review*, Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council, and Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology, New York University.

Among the surprisingly small list of books published in 1938 that fell within the scope of the Award, Professor Johnson's work is outstanding. Recognizing the importance of securing authoritative data upon Negro college graduates before their number becomes too great, and the individuals too difficult to reach, Professor Johnson has made a comprehensive study of every important aspect of the sociological significance of the college trained Negro, from his own and from the community's point of view, tracing him from his early years and the motivation that led him into higher education through to his final location in the economic world and his achievements there. This study is exceptional in that it attempts to cover every unit within its field instead of relying on the sampling process, although a selected portion of the group is subjected to especially intensive treatment. The authority of this work is enhanced by the notable previous achievements of its author in the fields of research and literature.

For the second time, an award of \$500 was available this year as assistance in the completion of a significant and promising research project in the field of race relations. This sum was granted to Professor Ralph J. Bunche for an analysis of the political, economic, and social status of the non-European peoples in South Africa, a project on which he already has been engaged for two years. For this investigation Mr. Bunche is exceptionally well equipped by his previous education and experience during his extended residence in South Africa, and by contacts with the groups included in the scope of his project. His conception of his investigation is comprehensive and systematic, and a useful contribution to the understanding of this complex social aggregate should result.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A STUDY OF VIRGINIA'S RURAL MARGINAL POPULATION*

ALLEN D. EDWARDS

Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station

THE purpose of the study of Virginia's rural marginal population now being carried on by the Department of Rural Sociology of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Virginia State Planning Board, the Works Progress Administration, and other agencies is stated in the working outline of the project as follows: "to analyze available data regarding extent, composition, and location of the marginal population; its tendency to increase or decrease, and the causes and consequences of marginality, together with the implications of such facts to our social order, to the end that there might be more intelligent public opinion, and constructive measures be initiated for improvement." We have attempted to study population trends in Virginia with special emphasis upon the lower income groups. Such problems as differential fertility, selective effects of migration, and vertical social mobility have been stressed, as well as factors associated with a high

rate of marginality and the effects of biological and cultural heredity. Partly because of our association with a committee of the State Planning Board, the problem of creating intelligent public opinion has been an important consideration.

Population trends in Virginia do not represent an isolated situation. Nearly all regions in the State are representative, within limits, of much larger areas throughout the South. Thus a consideration of Virginia's problems is of wide interest. The report which follows presents the methodology of the study as well as such preliminary results as are available at this time.

DEFINITIONS

A number of terms will be used in this paper which require definition since they are frequently misunderstood or confused. The term "marginal population" refers to people on a bare subsistence plane of living, both economically and culturally. This group is composed chiefly of subsistence farm owners, tenants and farm laborers, together with low income rural families engaged in non-agricultural occupations. Marginal people usually have a fifth grade education or less, pay little or

* Read before the Third Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 2, 1938.

The study on which this paper is based is being conducted jointly with Professor W. E. Garnett, Department of Rural Sociology, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station.

no local taxes, have poor housing, few modern conveniences, and only meager social contacts.

The term "submarginal" refers to the small percentage of the marginal group who are mentally or physically defective. They should not be confused with the others, the majority of whom are self-respecting, have fair ability, and would have higher standards but for being the victims of unfavorable circumstances over which they have little control.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Research procedures and preliminary results will be presented with reference to the following problems: (1) the extent, composition, and location of marginal people; (2) differential fertility by socioeconomic groups; (3) the effects of migration on the quality of population; (4) vertical social mobility between socioeconomic groups; (5) relationship between marginality and cultural and biological inheritance.

EXTENT, COMPOSITION, AND LOCATION OF MARGINAL PEOPLE

The extent of marginality in Virginia's rural population has been studied chiefly through tabulations of the U. S. Census of Agriculture for 1929; tax assessments for 1936; and a variety of local studies and published data.

In general, families with gross annual incomes of less than \$600 were included in the marginal group. For farmers, this figure includes the value of home grown supplies but no allowance for rent. It must cover the cost of farm production as well as family living; on the other hand, earnings from off farm employment are not included.

A special tabulation was secured from the U. S. Census of Agriculture for the

"value of farm products sold, traded, or used by the operator's family, 1929" in order to obtain tenure and color breakdowns by income groups. Since the gross income for croppers, tenants, and the rented land of part owners included the landlord's share it was necessary to take this into account in estimating the number with marginal incomes. Since the landlord's share amounts to about one-half of the products sold for cash it was decided to include with the marginal group, in addition to all farm operators with gross farm incomes under \$600, all tenants and share-croppers with incomes of \$600 to \$999 and one-fourth of the part owners in that income grouping.

On the basis of this definition the following were classed as marginal: 35,752 or 38 percent of the white owners; 19,291 or 65 percent of the white tenants; 16,628 or 69 percent of all Negro owners; and 9,734 or 69 percent of all Negro tenants.

The income of farm laborers as reported by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics indicates that all would have annual incomes below \$600, even with prerequisites included. The average wages paid to farm laborers per month with board ranged from \$14 in 1910 to \$30 in 1929, \$16 in 1933 to \$20 in 1937.¹ Daily wages were slightly higher than these monthly figures but the yearly wages were lower. There were 40,896 white male farm laborers 18 years of age and over and 28,985 Negroes in 1930.

The proportion of farm workers with marginal incomes by counties shows that those with the highest rate of marginality are concentrated in the southwest, central, and Tidewater sections of the State. For the State as a whole 65 percent of all farm workers (operators and farm laborers)

¹ Figures quoted are for April of each year. *Virginia Farm Statistics* by Federal-State Crop Reporting Service.

have incomes below \$600, 58 percent for whites and 83 percent for Negroes. The map of fertility rates for Virginia counties shows higher rates in the southwest and central sections of the State but not in Southwest Virginia. Southside counties, although having a fairly low rate of marginality, have a relatively high fertility index.

High land values prevail in northern Virginia, Shenandoah Valley, reaching down into part of Southwest Virginia; also in lower Tidewater and Eastern Shore. In general, sections of high land

income, yet are not included in the rural farm population. The high percentage of Negroes in this section also influences these relationships.

From available data it is not possible to obtain an accurate estimate of the proportion of rural non-farm workers who have incomes below \$600. According to a recent report of the State Department of Labor and Industries, the average wage paid to workers in manufacturing industries of Virginia was \$732 in 1935. This indicated that a large proportion were recipients of low incomes. A recent

TABLE 1

MALE GAINFUL WORKERS IN INDUSTRIES OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE BY SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUPS AND COLOR, VIRGINIA, 1930

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUP	TOTAL		WHITE		NEGRO	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	447,279	100.00	340,177	100.0	107,102	100.0
Professional Persons	20,073	4.5	17,760	5.2	2,313	2.2
Wholesale and Retail Dealers	25,501	5.7	23,857	7.0	1,644	1.5
Other Proprietors, Managers and Officials	23,966	5.4	23,047	6.8	919	0.9
Clerks and Kindred Workers	63,826	14.3	16,527	18.1	2,299	2.1
Skilled Workers and Foreman	90,306	20.2	82,765	24.3	7,541	7.0
Semi-skilled Workers	83,392	18.6	66,318	19.5	17,074	16.0
Unskilled Workers	140,215	31.3	64,903	19.1	75,312	70.3

values have a relatively low rate of marginality, lower Tidewater and Southeastern Virginia representing exceptions. Gross farm income per capita of the rural farm population is somewhat similar to that for land value, with lower Tidewater and Southeastern Virginia showing high gross income per capita along with a high rate of marginality. The figures for Southeastern Virginia are influenced by the fact that there are large numbers of farm laborers in this section who live in small villages and others who are only seasonal laborers in agriculture. Both of these groups share in the agricultural

publication of the Census Bureau² throws further light on this subject. A social economic grouping of Virginia male workers in industries other than agriculture, including rural non-farm and urban workers, shows 19 percent of the white workers in unskilled and 20 percent in semi-skilled occupations in 1930; 70 percent of the Negro male workers were in unskilled and 16 percent in semi-skilled work (Table 1). These figures also indicate that large numbers would have in-

² Alba M. Edwards, "Social-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers, 1930," Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1938.

comes below \$600. Moreover, non-farm workers in rural areas would probably average a lower rating in skill and income than those in urban centers.

Another method used to determine the extent of marginality was the analysis of tax assessments. These data reveal that 42 percent of 148,854 white tax payers of 29 counties and 57 percent of 36,193 Negro tax payers of 15 counties were assessed less than \$2.50 real estate and personal property taxes combined. If the proportion of tax payers assessed less than \$5.00 real estate and personal property taxes were taken, the proportion of whites and Negroes for the same counties would be 56 and 75 respectively. Though irregularities of assessment and a sprinkling of young men of higher standard homes having little property to their credit prevented the data from being more than approximately correct, it supports in a striking way the evidence of other data as to the large percentage which have a marginal status. Intensive checks of a dozen communities together with analysis of the relief rolls in a number of counties indicate that a number of the more marginal type were omitted by the tax assessor.

The results of schedule studies in a number of communities and of farm management studies tend to supplement the evidence of income and tax data as to the high degree of rural marginality. In fact it may be conservatively estimated that more than 100,000 white families, or approximately half of the white rural population and more than 50,000 Negro families, may be classed as marginal.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

One type of data on which a good deal of time has been spent is that of studying

certain family strains predominantly of the marginal type, other family strains with predominantly higher standards, and some which cut across the socio-economic scale. Data for these families have been compiled from the birth records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Richmond, a number of family schedules obtained in the field, marriage records, genealogical records in published form, and original population schedules in the Census Bureau, Washington, D. C.

One difficulty in using census records appears to be that a considerable number of the more marginal families in the more remote mountainous districts have been entirely omitted from census enumerations. However, census schedules offer the most complete data available and are particularly valuable in such studies.

The data are not completely analyzed but preliminary estimates indicate that the fertility of marginal families over a period of about 200 years has been about two to three times as great as that of higher standard groups. Tracing only the male lines of one family strain, which I will call family A, we find that in 1930 there were over 2700 descendants residing in Virginia, presumably descendants from a single ancestor. Another family strain which I will call family X has had predominantly higher standards. Less than ten descendants, also following the male lines only, are now found in the State of Virginia and 155 in other States. The total number of descendants over a period of 200 years for family strain A has been at least 8,000 as compared to a little over 400 for family strain X. The high birth rate characteristic of family strain A is also indicated by the fact that 176 women 40 years of age and over, of this one closely related family strain, having children between 1912 and 1935 averaged

9.6 children of whom 8.2 were living at the time the record was made. The number of children in family strain X for 91 mothers having children, over a longer period of time, averaged only 4.8 of whom 4.1 lived to maturity.

The marginal families studied have resided for the most part in the mountainous sections of the State while the higher standard families have been fairly widely distributed in other parts of the State. Thus, the family strains are not strictly comparable and it is proposed to carry the analysis further by comparing

distribution of mothers having children in the two groups. The age distribution of each group was standardized by that of mothers having children in the State of Virginia during 1934. The standardized number of children for white families in Group A was 3.7 as compared with 2.9 for families in Group B. Corresponding figures for Negroes were 4.5 and 4.1 respectively (Table 2). In both cases families in the group of unskilled labor and farmers assessed less than \$5.00 in real estate and personal property taxes combined had a larger number of children than

TABLE 2

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER MOTHER HAVING CHILDREN, BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND COLOR, BEAVER DAM DISTRICT, HANOVER COUNTY, 1932-1936

TYPE OF AVERAGE	WHITE		COLORED	
	Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B
	Unskilled labor or assessed taxes, less than \$5	Skilled, clerical, bus. or prof. work or assessed taxes, \$5 or more	Unskilled labor or assessed taxes, less than \$5	Skilled, clerical, bus. or prof. work or assessed taxes, \$5 or more
No. mothers having children, 1932-1936.....	195	57	183	26
Average no. children (age not controlled).....	3.7	4.0	4.9	5.3
Average no. children (age controlled).....	4.6	3.9	5.6	4.1
Standardized average*.....	3.7	2.9	4.5	4.1

* Age distribution of mothers having children in each group standardized by age distribution of all mothers in Virginia having children during 1934. (Births, Deaths and Infant Mortality Statistics, 1934.)

the fertility of marginal and higher standard groups within the same communities in different areas of the State.

In one community for which data are now available, birth records for the five years 1932-36 were secured. The number of children in order of birth were tabulated for two groups by the age of mothers having children during this period. Group A, unskilled labor or assessed taxes of less than \$5.00; Group B, skilled, clerical, business or professional work or assessed taxes of \$5.00 or more. In order to compare these groups it is necessary to take account of the difference in the age

those in the group of more highly skilled workers and farmers with greater tax assessments.

Further evidence that a differential birth rate exists in Virginia is shown by statistics published by the Virginia Department of Health for the year 1935. One table showed the number of live births by occupation of the father. When this is compared with the occupational distribution in the 1930 census of population it is evident that unskilled and semi-skilled laborers and farm workers (laborers and operators) have higher birth rates than skilled workers or professional persons.

Live births per 1000 male workers 19 years of age and over were as follows:

Average for the State.....	78
Farm workers (farm operators and laborers).....	92
Unskilled workers in manufacturing industries.....	107
Semi-skilled workers in manufacturing industries.....	98
Machinists and mechanics.....	76
Electricians.....	57
Other skilled workers in manufacturing industries.....	36
Clergymen.....	56
Lawyers.....	42
Doctors.....	41
Workers in trades (including proprietors, managers, and salesmen).....	35

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON QUALITY OF THE POPULATION

Studies previously made in this field tend in general to support the thesis that, for the communities studied, members of higher standard families tended to migrate somewhat more freely than did those in the marginal group. Dr. Wilson Gee's study of rural depopulation in Tidewater and Piedmont Counties of Virginia, and Dr. Garnett's study of the Blacksburg Community are relevant. In the Blacksburg study reports were received on 577 individuals reared in the community who had gone elsewhere to live, over a period of 50 years. Approximately one-third of the migrants were from marginal families, although one-half of the present families have marginal incomes. However, it is not known what the proportion of marginal families was 50 years ago or during the intervening period. Moreover, about one-third of the migrants were probably not reported and it is probable that a somewhat larger proportion of these not reported were from marginal families.

The present study has attempted to obtain migration data from several sources. One source was the records of

marginal family strains which show that members of this group migrate less frequently from Virginia than do those of the higher standard groups. For example, family strain A, mentioned above, predominantly of the marginal class shows about five percent of the present generation living outside the State. Although the data for this statement are incomplete at this time the proportion outside the State will probably not be greater than indicated. For family strain X, migration started with members of the fourth generation when 14 male descendants out of 29 lived outside the State. Practically all of the present generation are outside the State. It should be kept in mind, however, as previously stated that these two families are from different parts of the State and thus are not strictly comparable.

Schedules circulated through the schools give migration records of a considerable number of families in selected communities. The data for Beaver Dam district of Hanover County has been tabulated and the preliminary results are available. The families are divided into two groups, First, those paying under \$5.00 in taxes or engaged in unskilled labor; Second, those paying \$5.00 or more in taxes or engaged in skilled, clerical, business or professional work. When the migration records of these two groups are compared adverse selection is indicated. Of those in the first groups, 12 percent of the second generation migrated as compared to 17 percent of the second group (Table 3).

It is evident that, although the facts already presented point to adversely selective migration along socio-economic lines, the evidence is still inconclusive. It is quite possible that conditions differ in different parts of the State and they may differ during different periods. Hence, we are now coöperating with the Census Bureau and obtaining data for

selected communities in various subregions of the State over a period of years from original census schedules. By obtaining such data in a number of selected communities and supplementing it with tax data, it is believed that a significant contribution to our knowledge of selective migration in Virginia can be made.

VERTICAL SOCIAL MOBILITY BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

Quantitative data regarding the proportion of persons rising and falling in the socio-economic scale is difficult to obtain. If the data are secured for the present generation as compared with their fathers,

strain A, of which we have any record, received a grant of land of 187 acres in a mountain hollow for his services during the French and Indian War. His descendants have been marginal for the most part and most of them have lived in mountainous areas.

However, another person by the same name, probably a son of the original ancestor, moved out from the mountains and started a large estate. In the course of three generations 2000 acres of land and 30 slaves were acquired. Some of the descendants of this substrain went back to the mountain hollow, intermarried with the clan, and adopted about the same

TABLE 3

MIGRATION FROM COMMUNITY BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PARENTS, BEAVERDAM DISTRICT, HANOVER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

GENERATION	GROUP A UNSKILLED LABOR OR ASSESSED TAXES OF LESS THAN \$5.00		GROUP B SKILLED, CLERICAL, BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL WORK OR ASSESSED \$5.00 OR MORE TAXES	
	IN COMMUNITY	OUTSIDE	IN COMMUNITY	OUTSIDE
First.....	54		78	
Second*.....	120(88%)	16(12%)	184(83%)	38(17%)

* Twenty-seven cases unknown for each group.

some of those in the younger age groups have not attained their maximum achievement. If the data are secured over a period in the past, records are likely to be incomplete. Moreover, a shift from farm labor to tenancy or farm tenancy to farm ownership does not always mean a higher standard of living. In spite of these difficulties the occupation and property holding of an individual is perhaps the best available measure of socio-economic status.

Data on vertical social mobility from studies of special family strains over a period of 200 years have revealed relatively few changes in socio-economic status. The first representative of family

standards of living. Others left the State and, for the most part, maintained a fairly good standard.

Other representatives of the mountain clan also migrated from the State. The course of movement was first into the valley and then out of the State. From an economic standpoint, those who moved, improved their conditions. They appeared to represent approximately a cross section of the occupations in the communities to which they moved. A fair proportion engaged in professional work.

A study of land holdings of one substrain reveals that although the number of persons holding land increased from

one in 1813 to 130 in 1936, no more than 10 persons at any one period had holdings listed of over 100 acres. The proportion having holdings greater than 100 acres decreased from two-thirds in 1840, one-half in 1860, about one-fourth in 1880, less than one-eighth in 1900, one-eleventh in 1920, and one-thirteenth in 1936. The figures show that, as this family increased in number, it became increasingly difficult to obtain farms of economic size and that relatively few were able to do so (Table 4).

Extremely small holdings and the fact that the land is not particularly fertile has

Data for family strain X has not been completely analyzed but the present occupational distribution of this and related families reveals a large number in clerical white collar jobs, salesmen, and with professional and responsible business positions. These names have also been prominent in local and State government.

Data were obtained from 155 families in Beaver Dam district with children attending school at Montpelier and Beaver Dam. The occupation and tax data of fathers of the present heads of households was compared with their children. They

TABLE 4
TREND IN LAND HOLDINGS OF ONE SUBSTRAIN OF FAMILY A IN VIRGINIA, 1790-1936

DATE	NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH HOLDINGS OF GIVEN ACREAGE									
	Total	Under 10	10-24	25-49	50-99	100-175	176-249	250-500	501-999	1000 or more
1936	130	54*	30	19	17	6	2	1	1	0
1920	101	42	20	16	14	6	2	1	0	0
1900	59	24	10	9	9	5	1	0	1	0
1880	17	4	2	3	4	2	2	0	0	0
1860	10	1	1	2	1	4	1	0	0	0
1840	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
1820	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
1813	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1790	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Thirteen town lots included.

greatly increased the difficulty of making a living. Many members of this family engaged in bootlegging during the prohibition days but this has declined greatly as a source of revenue since repeal. In 1930 the occupations of 500 heads of households of family A were as follows:

Total	500
Farm owners	147
Farm tenants	79
Farm laborers	102
Other unskilled laborers	94
Skilled labor	35
Clerical	5
Business and Proprietary	18
Unknown	20

were separated into two groups; first, those paying less than \$5.00 in taxes or listed as unskilled labor; and second, those paying \$5.00 or more taxes or listed as in skilled, business or professional occupations. In Table 5, generation 1 refers to the fathers of the present heads of households and generation 2 refers to the sons of the generation 1. There was apparently, in this community, greater tendency to rise than to fall in the socio-economic scale.

Trained investigators during the summer of 1936 visited a number of selected communities and attempted to obtain data

over three generations, covering a large sample in each community. These data are now being analyzed. A relatively small percentage of vertical social mobility is indicated.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARGINALITY AND CULTURAL AND BIOLOGICAL INHERITANCE

The opinion is current in Virginia that the lack of achievement in the marginal group is due primarily or altogether to defective biological inheritance. This viewpoint has been advanced by those who would oppose constructive measures for improving the conditions of lower income families. While it is recognized that it is impossible to entirely separate

marriages rarely occur outside the social class to which a family belongs.

The lack of achievement among marginal families may be explained wholly from a consideration of the cultural situation. Inadequate diet and health care, poor training, lack of opportunity, little encouragement in the home and a lack of stimulating social contacts are sufficient to explain the fact that few of the lower income groups are able to rise much above the status of their parents. Records of approximately 1000 rehabilitation clients, about one-fourth of those receiving aid in 1936 from the Farm Security Administration, gives some idea of the very limited budgets of such families.

TABLE 5

VERTICAL SOCIAL MOBILITY BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PARENTS, BEAVERDAM DISTRICT, HANOVER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

GENERATION	GROUP A UNSKILLED LABOR OR ASSESSED TAXES OF LESS THAN \$5.00			GROUP B SKILLED, CLERICAL, BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL WORK OR ASSESSED TAXES OF \$5.00 OR MORE		
	60			95		
	GROUP A	GROUP B	NOT GIVEN	GROUP A	GROUP B	NOT GIVEN
First.....						
Second.....	74(58%)	54(42%)	(55)	33(14%)	200(86%)	(78)

the influence of cultural from that of biological heredity, it seems desirable to make some study of the extent to which a low level of achievement is due to deficient heredity and of the possibilities for improving the conditions of marginal folk by creating more favorable opportunities.

It has been shown that vertical social mobility between socio-economic levels does occur. A biological explanation might suggest that the more successful individuals among the lower socio-economic groups result from marriage with individuals higher in the socio-economic scale. This may be a factor in some instances but a study of marriage records correlated with tax data has shown that

The total median cash expenditures for family living during 1936 were reported to be less than \$175 per family for both whites and Negroes. It is apparent that this figure is insufficient to provide an adequate diet, medical care, and good education for the children. Moreover, the situation of rehabilitation clients is somewhat better than that for the average marginal family since these clients are selected from the more industrious of the low income farm families. The Farm Security Administration has thus taken steps to encourage the growing of better gardens and the provision of other products from the farm to correct dietary defects. They have recently taken steps

to insure medical care in coöperation with the local doctors by the payment of an annual fee.

School records of children from marginal families show that they are frequently handicapped by irregular school attendance and that they drop out at an earlier age than the average children. A schedule study of four generations of 197 families of family strain A shows that only a small proportion of even the present generation attends school beyond the elementary grades (Table 6).

The achievement of 62 students of the Blue Ridge Industrial School since 1909

less average ability than those in the higher socio-economic groups. I. Q. tests of a number of children from marginal homes appears to indicate that such is the case.

SUMMARY

In conclusion we may summarize briefly the status of our study of Virginia's rural marginal population.

1. Evidence is overwhelming that a large proportion of our rural white and Negro population exists on a bare subsistence plane of living, both economically and culturally; and that in general, areas

TABLE 6

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF FOUR GENERATIONS, SCHEDULE STUDY OF 197 FAMILIES OF FAMILY STRAIN A

	NONE		1-4		5-7		8-11		12 AND UP		TOTAL
	Number	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	
I. Grandparents.....	100	91.7	9	8.3							109
II. Parents, Uncles and Aunts of Fathers and Mothers.....	242	46.0	209	39.7	70	13.3	3	0.6	2	0.4	526
III. Fathers and Mothers and their Brothers and Sisters.....	299	19.6	689	45.3	434	28.5	76	5.0	24	1.6	1,522
IV. a. Children 20 and over out of school..	46	13.7	103	30.8	113	33.7	61	18.2	12	3.6	335
IV. b. Children under 20 out of school....	25	17.2	46	31.7	54	37.3	18	12.4	2	1.4	145
IV. c. Children in school.....			120	54.8	68	31.1	31	14.1			219

indicated that children of marginal families would greatly benefit by education adapted to their needs. Of these 62 children, for which reports are available, 36 were more successful than their brothers and sisters with less schooling, 25 had about the same degree of success, and one did worse. Of the 16 children who attended this school eight years or more, 12 were more successful than their brothers and sisters who received but little schooling.

While the general lack of achievement of marginal families may be explained by their cultural situation, it is quite possible that individuals in this group may have

with a high rate of marginality have high indices of fertility. These counties, however, do not have the resources to carry this additional burden of providing for more than their share of the next generation. Much further study is needed to indicate the relation of such factors as quality of the soil, system of farming, and social institutions to the rate of marginality.

2. Data from a variety of sources all tend to indicate that differential fertility among socio-economic groups is rather marked in Virginia. The significance of this situation with respect to its effect upon the future quality of the State's

population, both from a cultural and a biological point of view can hardly be over-estimated.

3. Available data do not yet provide adequate knowledge of the selective effects of migration; for the most part, however, evidence tends to support the view that adverse selection is going on.

4. Vertical social mobility between socio-economic groups is not proceeding rapidly. Our own data on this point are in process of being analyzed, but certain preliminary results indicate that there is a considerably greater tendency to move up in the socio-economic scale than in the opposite direction.

5. The low level of achievement of

marginal people can be explained entirely from a cultural point of view. The records of children who have been given a better opportunity as well as the many disadvantages which must be overcome by children in marginal families tend to support this viewpoint. It is possible that a lower average ability is also a factor. It seems evident, however, that members of the marginal group would greatly benefit by opportunities adapted to their needs and that provision of this opportunity is a most urgent task of our society. There is need for bold experimentation in practical means of bringing about an improvement in the condition of marginal folk.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The office of the Secretary of the Pacific Sociological Society has contributed the following items:

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held at the University of California, Berkeley, December 28 to 30, 1938.

The conference opened with a luncheon at noon Wednesday, when Dr. Constantine Panunzio, University of California at Los Angeles, spoke of his experiences in Italy. A joint dinner meeting with the Pacific Coast Economic Association and the Pacific Division of the American Philosophical Society was addressed by Max Radin, University of California School of Law. Before a joint meeting with the Pacific Coast Economic Association James K. Hall, President of the Economic Association and Samuel Haig Jameson, President of the Pacific Sociological Society, delivered their presidential addresses.

Prepared papers and discussions given at the four sessions devoted to the program were: Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon, "Patterns of Age, Sex and Direction in Net White Mobility Streams," discussions by Carl F. Reuss, State College of Washington, and Paul Walter, Jr., University of New Mexico; Joseph Cohen, University of Washington, "Social Security and Social Movements," discussions by John M. Foskett, University of Idaho, and S. B. Laughlin, Willamette University; William Kirk, Pomona College, "Social Change Among the Maya-Quiches of Guatemala," discussions by Maurice E. Opler, Claremont College, and Paul Taylor, University of California; George M. Day, Occidental College, "Folkways versus Stateways in Soviet Russia," discussions by Glenn E. Hoover, Mills College, and Hubert Phillips, Fresno State College; Carl E. Dent, State College of Washington, "Problems of a College Course in Marriage," discussions by Glen E. Carlson, University of Redlands, and George B. Mangold, University of Southern California; Roy A. West, Institute of Religion, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, "A Study of the Mormon Village Family," discussions by Robert H. Dann, Oregon State College, and Carlo L. Lastrucci, Stanford University; Henry Hoag Frost, Jr., University of California, "Functionalism in Anthropology and Sociology," discussions by Kenneth Potter, Fresno State College, and H. G. Barnett, University of California; Clarence M. Case, University of Southern California, "Value as a Concept in Sociology and Related Fields," discussions by Walter Sulzbach, Pomona College, and A. L. Kroeber, University of California.

Papers will be published in the March-April issue of *Sociology and Social Research* as Volume 10 of the Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society.

Glenn E. Hoover, Mills College was elected president for the year 1939. Other newly elected officers are: Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, First Vice-President; David E. Henley, Whittier College, Second Vice-President; Carl E. Dent, State College of Washington, Third Vice-President; Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington, Secretary-Treasurer; Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, Editor; and, George M. Day, Occidental College, Member of the Advisory Council.

The State College of Washington and the University of Idaho jointly were chosen as the location for the 1939 meeting.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY*

ROBERT G. FOSTER

Merrill-Palmer School

Love will never instruct the mother what textures of clothing, or the proper conducting or non-conducting qualities for different climates or for different seasons of the year. Love is no chemist or philosopher and, therefore, will never impart to the mother any knowledge of the chemical or vital qualities of different kinds of food, of the nature or functions of the digestive system, or indeed, any of the other various functions upon which life and health depend.—
Horace Mann.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE

WHEN one stops to consider that there are over one hundred and thirty million human beings in the United States—of differing racial and nationality backgrounds, hereditary characteristics, social and economic status, religious affiliations, educational training, and political beliefs, about equally divided between the sexes, of all degrees of age from infancy to senility, most of whom are actually living in some form of natural family group—the magnitude of the task of formulating, to say nothing of putting into actual operation, a system of family life education, seems staggering. Then when one considers the

conflicting beliefs which arise between individuals within one area of living such as politics, religion, or economics, and that the individual himself may hold firmly to one sort of political theory and completely opposing economic or religious philosophies, the task appears enormously difficult.

To begin with, then, we must recognize in our deliberations the complexity of the problem, which cannot be made simpler by assuming a unity in political, religious, and economic philosophy which does not actually exist. Let us briefly assume certain common starting points which are possibly general enough to be accepted by everyone. Then within this framework our discussion of the specific problems of formulating an adequate philosophy of education, within which family life education may find its most effective place, may proceed with some degree of clarity.

STARTING POINTS

There are four basic kinds of organization of life in a culture such as ours in the United States, which, as in other cultures, have developed in response to human needs. The dominant philosophy of human relationships underlying each gives the clue to the philosophy of education

* Presented at the 31st Annual Meeting, American Home Economics Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1938.

which is essential within the culture and will best serve individual need and societal well-being.

The first of these is all that maze of economic and industrial organization of man's life, with attendant legal statutes, developed in the interest of *self-maintenance*. The adjustment of man to his natural resources has always been and will no doubt always be one of the basic problems to which mankind must make some form of adaptation. What the natural resources are, their quantity, and quality, and the genius with which man is able to utilize them for his advantage, form the starting point for an understanding of most other forms of organization in any society. In the United States the economic system is characterized by such terms as *capitalistic*, *pecuniary*, *competitive*, and *individualistic*. The philosophy basic to our economic struggle for existence, which has been in operation for generations is aptly summarized by a leading economist:¹

The underlying philosophy of our present economic system is one of private gain in terms of price, of private property and of production for sale in a price market—a system in which success or failure presents itself as a price income as against a price outgo. It is a competitive economy and, therefore, a price economy in which price becomes the central and pivotal fact in all industry and business . . . competition implies that each actor is separately and independently seeking his own individual maximum of gain. He acts by himself and for himself. Any pooling of interests . . . or the slightest consideration of other interests is inconsistent with the concept. The competitive man is in his psychology as solitary a hunter as a cat. Spiritually he is as isolated a thing as a billiard ball, an atom, a monad, a star. All things that he does he is set to do by himself, and for himself. His plans may be far-reaching but they do not intend the gain of any other; neither courtesy nor good-will nor for that matter, ill-will—can have any part in the case. In strict logic there is no place for qualities like consideration or gratitude or courtesy or envy or revenge or ill-will in the whole dull lexicon of gain.

¹ H. J. Davenport, *Economics of Enterprise*.

No wonder that economics has been called "the dismal science." Nevertheless, every individual and every nation is confronted with the problem of dealing with the realities of the economics of self-maintenance, and some philosophy of human relationships is implicit in the manner of dealing with the problem.

The adjustment between men and their natural resources gives rise also to a struggle among men. As a result there arises need for a second kind of organization which may be called *Regulative and Protective, or Governmental*. Here are regulated the crucial problems of the rights of particular men and groups of men within the total life of the people, with respect to their share of the common dividend, and protection for rightful owners against unjust aggression.

In the United States this form of government is called Democracy. Its fundamental aims are well stated in the Declaration of Independence:

We hold . . . that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Quite apart in some respects, but very closely allied with the problem of self-maintenance and government, there exists among all groups of human beings the feeling of insecurity in this universe, of the mystery in which man lives, and in accordance there always has arisen some form of religious ideology. In some societies it has been dominant in the political and economic life of the people. In others,

while continuing to be dominant in the life of the individual, it has become more or less removed from the political and economic organization of society. In the United States there is no one dominant form of religion. Man may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and the separation of church and state is absolute. There may be competition among religious groups and much conflict in the minds of individuals as to which, if any, religious philosophy to adopt, but there is little or no vital relationship between the state, religion, and our economic system.

The fourth basic organization of life within our culture is brought about by the fact of bisexuality. In response to bisexuality there have developed folkways, *mores*, the institution of marriage, and many customs involving sanctions and restrictions with regard to the way in which the sexes are associated from earliest childhood to old age.

Every society regulates the sexes as to their relationships before marriage; who shall marry; the conduct of individuals after marriage; the causes for which and ways by which the union may be terminated; and ways of dealing with widowhood, celibacy, and similar problems. The one outstanding persistent fact, which has been true throughout history and is true of all contemporary societies, is that human conduct is and has always been subject to certain cultural regulations.

Marriage is a social institution and not an individual matter. Family life is, in fact, a negation of individualism. Its very nature involves the restriction of individual freedom and compromise in terms of group interests and goals. It involves, therefore, public social sanctions and more or less systematic social control. In the simpler primitive societies it is difficult to differentiate between economic

and social organizations. The family really embraces the whole life of the group, economic, political, religious, and educational. As societies became more complex the distinction between these various organized controls of man's life became more marked, and the functions of the family, government, religion, and education became more clearly differentiated.

The family of the present is characterized by its extensiveness in terms of human expression, as well as by its complexities. There are some two billion human beings throughout the world living under different systems of cultural organization and with a high degree of variation among both individuals and cultures. If we confine ourselves to the United States, the complexity is so less apparent. If we consider an industrial city like Pittsburgh or Detroit, we find that about 15 percent of the families are made up of two adults—husband and wife. About 42 percent are families of husbands, wives, and children. Another 15 percent consist of husbands, wives, children, and other relatives; and so on. Looking at the picture purely from the standpoint of numbers and sexes, and recognizing the individual variations among the family members, we have a startling number of possible variables with which to deal in any attempt to understand family life in its various expressions, either at a given time or throughout the period of its development from the time the family begins until it no longer exists. The complexity is increased by the multiplicity of relationships which exist in any particular family, to say nothing of the effect upon the relationships of the family of individual contacts and relationships outside the home.

Although varying in the degree in which it performs certain functions from one generation to another, the family has

always operated more or less as an economic unit, both in the sense of common effort and in the sense of interpreting the meaning of a pecuniary society. It has always given protection, nurture, and care to the child, and usually to the aged as well. In the past it reinforced the mores of our culture through its religious function, and still does so to some extent. It has been and perhaps still is the most potent educational influence in terms of specific training, personality formation, and cultural transmission and interpretation. It has always provided an affectional function in giving opportunity for sex expression and companionship for adults and security to children. Finally, it has performed a very significant function in terms of giving status to the child in whatever class of society the family was a part.

THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

In historical perspective, education has always been firmly rooted in the fundamental philosophies dominant in a particular culture and has more or less moved from one to the other of two fundamental and distinctive meanings. I quote from a stimulating book on the philosophy of education, published recently:

The first meaning involved a recognition of the demands of social heritage and the demands of preparation for the individual's struggle for existence. The former embraces the sum total of measures taken by qualified institutions and persons for bringing the learner up to such standards of the good life as may be cherished by the group of which he is a member, by birth or by adoption. What is demanded in the way of preparation for the individual for the struggle for existence, economically speaking, is controlled by standards of competence set by the occupational groups. An educational philosophy dominated by these fundamental purposes has both advantages and disadvantages. It may lead, on the one hand, to an exaggerated, directed, prescribed learning and uniformity and may result in inflexibility of programs and methods of study in their adaptation to the in-

dividual's needs and capacity. On the other hand, it has the advantage of a definite and systematic curriculum and gives attention to such fundamentals as the personal moral values of humanity and the giving of information, skills and attitudes which, in the judgment of educational authorities, are essential for individual and societal well-being.

The second important meaning of the term conceives education to be primarily concerned with assisting people towards as happy a life as possible in a changing civilization. This has a more personal, immediate and pragmatic direction.

The disadvantage of the second approach is that it may lead to exaggerated individualism and non-conformity, inadequate training in fundamentals, lack of balance in self-expression, insufficient self-control on the part of the learner and a relatively small emphasis upon his duties to contribute to group welfare as well as his own individual happiness. On the other hand, this conception of education may result in a greater degree of meaningfulness of school work which is more challenging and encouraging to the individual and consequently may facilitate retentive learning and produce a happier and less hampered growth of the individual's personal development.

These two fundamental conceptions of education have been in conflict throughout history. Obviously, the ideal educative process would consist in combining the positive values of each.²

To the extent to which we understand the dominant philosophies of the culture in which we live,—and there is a high correlation among these philosophies—shall we be able to formulate a philosophy and system of education which will be effective in giving positive direction to our culture through the function of the family. Just to the extent that we are confused about our political ideals, our economic philosophy, and our religious theory, the unit of society, the family, will be under stress and strain in its effort to transmit the meaning of our culture to the oncoming generations, and will fail to make its greatest contribution to society as well as to achieve the purpose for which it was developed—the satisfaction of basic human needs. The family group

² Micheal Bemishevich, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, pp. 5-6.

both reflects the major philosophies of the culture, and, in a complex civilization like ours, contributes to the techniques essential to the maintenance of a democratic society. The problem of education lies somewhere in the field of maintaining a balance between the individual need and the social good. Its function may be conceived as that of facilitating the individual's ability to gain insight into a practical working compatibility between political democracy, economic individualism, and religious freedom. When any two of these become aligned with the other, the basis of an educational philosophy is not only simplified but actually determined. In this country, our goal would seem to be that of bringing our religious theory and economic philosophy into line with our political theory, conserving the valuable elements of each in the process.

The criterion for the acceptance or rejection of any new method or program of education lies in its effect upon the ultimate end of bringing the philosophy and activities of individuals more nearly into accord with a larger ideal which embodies the integration and coöperative functioning of our theory of political democracy, economic individualism, and religious freedom. Uniting these three into one common democratic philosophy is the no small task which lies ahead.

Since the family is the strategic point with reference to the formation of personality and individual attitudes towards the common life and the transmission of the meaning of the sanctions and restrictions of our culture, it may be that the major function of education at present lies in promoting a kind of family life education which will accomplish within this fundamental and significant social group what seems almost impossible of accomplishment on a national scale; namely, the

unifying of these major conflicting philosophies in our culture. Of the part family life plays in directing the individual toward or away from democratic conduct, a social philosopher has this to say:

Family experience may become a training course for the building of habits on the part of family members which lead either to power-over or power-with; if it is the former, the family will become a hindrance to democracy, and if the latter, family experience may become a potent source of habit-building for democratic conduct.

Because of its very intimacy family life becomes at one and the same time the most fruitful and the most fateful of all human relationships since it is due to this intimacy that so many of the ensuing tensions and conflicts are suppressed. The freedom which democracy grants is the antithesis of suppression. Likewise, the authority which is integral to the democratic process is the opposite of that variety of order which accompanies dictatorships and absolute or totalitarian states. Modern absolutists seem to want order for the sake of order. Those who believe in democracy desire order for the sake of true freedom.

In the intimate processes of family life may be built up attitudes and habits which are basic to the system of values which holds democratic society together.³

It is not so much what the family does or teaches as their way of doing or teaching that is significant for the personality and subsequent career of the individual. Thus when we see our present-day society torn by conflict, individuals each seeking domination and control of political, economic, or professional life, we are witnessing the continuing influence of the family life in those aggressive, destructive, non-coöperative personalities who at whatever cost to our society must "get even" and express their childhood resentments and unresolved aggressions.

Understanding human behavior, seeing the family as an everchanging search for intimacy, love, affection and child-bearing and rearing, grasping the meaning

³ E. C. Lindeman, "The Importance of the Family in the Democratic Process," *Parent Education*, (Dec., 1937), p. 76.

of human growth and development and of personality—these areas await education, exploration and experimentation if the schools are to meet the urgent needs of family life today.⁴

PAST AND PRESENT TRENDS SIGNIFICANT FOR
INTERPRETING THE FUTURE

It is unnecessary to do more than call attention to some of the past and present trends which have had a significant effect upon family life. The facts are well known to you and have been many times presented at your meetings. The transfer of industry from the home to the factory and business institutions, the concentration of population in urban centers, increased facilities for transportation and communication, a rising level of consumption, decreasing birth rates, shifts in the distribution of the population for different age levels, and many other factors have played their part in the changes of the past century, with attendant results on personal and family adjustments. Thus, today we find a community life in which there is a heterogeneous mixture of co-operative and competitive procedures, of progressive and reactionary thinking, of pagan and Christian philosophy, of cultured and uncultured peoples, of prosperous and poverty-stricken members of society. How to build a philosophy of family life education to meet the demands of so diverse a set of conflicting theories, ideas, and conditions is indeed a problem. In the last analysis the emphasis of our educational philosophy will depend upon the values which we hold most worthwhile with reference to our economic, political, and religious philosophies, quite regardless of short-time technological fluctuations.

In view of all these facts, I think our family life of the future must be considered

in terms of the following conditions and developments:

1. The fact that human beings are still bisexual and that wherever one goes, or whatever happens, some way of dealing with this regulative problem in the group interest will be devised. It could conceivably be sterilization of a large group so that we would have a trisexual organization of life, as do the honey bees. It could be a non-sexual organization of life if science can learn how to continue and improve the race without the aid of human reproductive elements. Or it could be one of a number of variations between these two improbable extremes. The fact remains that regulation of human beings by means of sanctions and restrictions enforced by political or religious policy or by social control and individual maturity of insight, integration, and motive, will be a part of every social system.

2. Perhaps economists, sociologists, politicians, religious prophets, crystal gazers, and stock brokers are all equally unable to predict what the world will be like in 2000 or 4000 A.D. We know that sixty-two years from now, in 2000 A.D., most of us will be dead. In fact, most of the young people graduated from college in 1938 will have passed on. It is the children entering nursery school and kindergarten this year, and their children, who will have to make what contribution is made to family life in the future. We may ask ourselves how well equipped the graduates of our colleges and universities, our high schools, and our elementary schools of 1938 are to carry on the functions of marriage and parenthood in the community of the future. How the children entering kindergarten in 1938 will be able to improve the quality of the family experience for their children is an even more important consideration. How education might function to help the individ-

⁴ L. K. Frank, International Management Conference, Home Management Volume, p. 3.

ual in all areas of human relationships, including the home, business, and other contacts; in developing personalities better adjusted socially and with a better understanding of the meaning of our culture; in helping young people and their parents to understand and evaluate current doctrines and theories of the variety of family relationships and problems, and how these, in turn, may be affected by political, religious, and social-economic conditions and policies—these are all factors of importance.

3. Increasingly the emphasis of the future will be upon the application of science to the problems of human relations and human life. The family functions of personality development, cultural integration, and transmission, etc., will probably be of increasing importance. I see the family in the community of the future a more integral part of the institutional network of human relationships, and I believe extra-familial institutions will give more attention to ways and means of helping to preserve the integrity of the family group, which is so definitely affected by larger social-economic forces and institutional programs.

4. More than ever before, if not for the first time in our history, economists, statesmen, politicians, business, industrial and labor leaders are beginning to realize that the human personalities in their various group associations constitute the only basis for organizing an adequate, self-sustaining, and effective political life.

5. The future will bring increasing stress and strain upon human relationships of all kinds, if we are to have a democratic economics, education, politics, and religion, because we are not accustomed to working in a coöperative and democratic fashion. We have not learned well enough the necessity for self-abnegation, self-sacrifice, tolerance, and understanding

in the interest of goals which are greater than individual self-interest.

6. The family of the future will no doubt continue to perform the functions it has always performed, and, at the same time, will find itself under even greater pressure of adjustment to changing social-economic conditions unless radical efforts are made to bring our economic policies, political philosophy, and religion into such a relationship that family adjustments will be minimized.

We must not, however, let changes in the techniques by which the family performs its function lead us into the error of many thinkers; namely, that the family has lost its function. It is perhaps more accurate to say that shifts in political, economic, and religious philosophy place upon the family even greater problems of adjustment. For the home is a theater for family relationships. The family members play their parts throughout the seven ages of man. Education should form the basis of improvement, to the end that this dynamic series of major and minor comedies and tragedies may become increasingly more skillfully handled by the members of the troupe—the husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, children, and the host of in-laws and others who affect the production.

SOME PROBLEMS IN FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Family Life Education needs to discover ways by which individuals may be handled in the family group, so that, through practice in private life, a democratic way of life will become so dominant a part of the behavior and philosophy of every individual that he will demand a similar system in his public relations. It is possible that science has as yet not accumulated enough wisdom about human relationships in marriage and family life

to form a sufficient basis for this type of education. If not, and I am of the opinion that it has not, this lack offers a challenge to the field in meeting the need for fundamental research into the subject.

Family Life Education is in need of a selling program. Business, professional, educational, political, and religious leaders need to be shown the true significance of the family in relation to our civilization as a whole and to understand that public policy tends by its every act to enhance or retard the family in performing its function of meeting basic human needs.

Family Life Education should be concerned not only with this public relationship task but also with the task of training everyone working in the field of family life—research workers, teachers, youth leaders, and the host of others—toward a deeper understanding of the complexity of family needs and problems. The so-called techniques of housekeeping are essential to a well-ordered family life, but a better understanding of the relation of these activities to personal relations in the home is needed.

Family Life Education needs more married men and women in the field. Not married men who are molly-coddles or who want to dominate the program, nor married women who are running away from their failure in marriage and are finding escape in teaching, but the same kinds of men and women already represented by the mature, scholarly, well-balanced group of unmarried individuals in the movement.

Family Life Education needs vigorous, unified, professional leadership. There are many reasons why it is difficult, with the high turnover of teachers, to maintain a long-time professional interest in the majority of individuals in the field, but nevertheless, something approaching a more unified professional group with a

dynamic and burning desire to forward the movement would seem opportune at this time. One way might be that of unifying existing organizations interested in the family into some sort of federated association, and publishing a professional journal which would attempt to cover the entire field.

Family Life Education needs a more adequate and realistic formulation of curriculum, with appropriate methods, based upon a thoroughgoing analysis of the needs of women and girls and men and boys and their relationships throughout the entire period of their growth and development. It must take into consideration the developmental range of individual and family responsibilities for which this type of education is designed, as follows:

First—There is the life of the individual in the parental family and all of the attendant biological, psychological, social, economic and other aspects of individual functioning during this period.

Second—The period of establishment of the family before the arrival of children, during which initial adjustments and the beginnings of the formulation of a common philosophy upon which the basic decisions in family life will be made, are paramount.

Third—The child-rearing period, during which the parents are involved in coming to understand something of the growth and development of children, throughout the whole period from infancy through adolescence, and at the same time must maintain their own individual and joint adult lives.

Fourth—The period of recovery following the leaving of children from the parental home, when the wife's time is released from the more confining tasks with reference to child-rearing, and during which time husband and wife are again

alone as individuals, without the responsibility of children.

Fifth—The fourth period is often followed by a period of retirement from the active vocational life and involves the whole problem of living one's old age satisfactorily.

Throughout this whole development of family life experience, from the time of marriage to the time of retirement, there is involved not only the necessity of the adults having some insight into their own individual development and relationships and that of their children, but also of having some common knowledge and philosophy concerning innumerable other arrangements of living on which decisions must be made. These include such fields as money, religion, recreation, health, one's relation to community affairs, one's relationship to relatives and in-laws, etc.

Family Life Education needs to be available to every individual who contacts our public school system and should be so vital that it will be sought after.

Family Life Education to be vital in the lives of people must do two things: First, find ways by which its teaching may involve more experiences out of which insights and understandings of family life will result. For example, the nursery school and the well-operated home management house are approaches to the problem. We teach a great many facts about marriage and the family, but we actually know very little about how to develop in individuals the art of living successfully with one another. There are many women who finish four years of college and who want to marry and have a family but who hate housekeeping, are irked by the details involved in guiding young children through the early years, and are antagonistic toward many of the relationships and responsibilities of the family, carried over perhaps from their

own earlier experiences. We need to find better ways of educating so that the individual actually functions more adequately in all of his human relationships.

Second, develop a closer relationship with families themselves. Many home economics and other family life teachers feel that the experienced homemaker, even with a home economics background, has nothing to offer the profession. This may be true, but it would be difficult to defend the same principle in other fields, and to say, for example, that young men and women training for business and professions will not be greatly benefited by opportunities for educational internships in business firms, factories, offices, hospitals, and other institutions. Perhaps the Antioch plan, if worked out more generally between schools and families, might offer one more kind of laboratory in which students could be given more adequate training and at the same time strengthen the teachers' contribution to training for actual success in functioning in family experience. To be a trained home economist does not necessarily mean that one is a trained homemaker, and for a girl to be trained to teach Nutrition or Clothing in high school means that her credentials are satisfactory for teaching within a technical field but do not necessarily in any sense equip her for success in her own family life. I am pleading merely for more training that will help people in the art of living together in the family, and perhaps for relatively less emphasis upon training people in home economics as teachers and technicians.

This conception of family life education implies not only an understanding of individual growth and development and a knowledge of the techniques of housekeeping and of family group life through-

out its various stages of development, but also of how to make the family a laboratory within which the ideals of our national life may be successfully taught and put into practice. It implies that research must continuously extend its observations both in fields of subject matter and in educational method where relatively little has been done, so that education for family life may be able not only to draw more richly from the various arts, sciences, and humanities, but may also know better how actually to train human beings in the art and technology of living together in the family and in other group relationships, and how the family group may learn to educate so that the ideals of our political, economic, and religious life are clearly understood by

our children, and related in such a way that the culture will benefit thereby.

Family Life Education is not a single discipline like organic chemistry and cannot be made to conform to present institutional set-ups.

If the field of family life education as here generally conceived can be formulated specifically enough to form the basis for a program of education, it then seems to me time enough to ask the questions, "Whose responsibility, among the many institutions in our society, is Family Life Education? What and how much of the job belongs to the public school; to adult and parent education; to the so-called character-building agencies; to the church or other agencies; to Home Economics?"

CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY

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PROPER development and control of the child's emotional life is one of the most significant responsibilities of the modern parent. Emotional stability is indispensable for happiness. It is a vital factor in personality. It plays a major rôle in the formation of interests, attitudes, and ideals, and therefore exerts a powerful influence on character. It enables us to face the pleasant or the unpleasant things in life, to meet success or failure, independent of any particular person or type of person, and still maintain a healthy balance in our living. Lack of it leads to befuddled thinking and behaving, to mental and physical disorders, and often to outright crime and insanity.

Only in recent years has any serious and systematic effort been made to deal intelli-

gently with this all-pervading aspect of child training. The long exploded theory of Nature's infallibility is still widely accepted, although it fails to take into consideration the fact that children must be prepared to take their places in a highly civilized world, in which many of their natural urges and impulses have to be suppressed, repressed, or redirected into socially acceptable channels.

The time-honored belief in letting children "sow their wild oats," that early wrong-doing *per se* immunizes against later-wrong-doing, has likewise many adherents; but it is little more than a hopeful rationalization to excuse wilful waywardness. The startling number of youthful criminals and mentally disordered today is in large measure the result of the belief in this doctrine of catharsis. Unhappily,

unrestrained and undirected misbehavior is unlikely to change into any other kind. Doing anything or any type of thing repeatedly and with pleasing effects produces habit, and this is especially true in the field of the emotions.

One of the earliest investigations of infantile emotions, that of Dr. John B. Watson, led to the conclusion that there are but three fundamental emotions: fear, anger, and love. Subsequent research has encountered difficulty in distinguishing between the expressions of fear and anger. It is entirely possible that the young infant is capable of showing only pleasure and displeasure. However, differentiated reactions gradually emerge from these early generalized mass reactions, and by early childhood we see definite evidences of the whole gamut of adult emotions. The process involved is that of learning, through habit formation and conditioning. And just as intellectual and physical development, under proper guidance, proceed at a fairly normal rate, so also emotional control should advance from lower to higher levels.

The process of habit formation is quite generally understood. Few parents have failed to notice that we tend to learn those things which we do often. Few will deny that their children learn more quickly those things which give pleasure and satisfaction, and that they do those things more frequently than others. The fact remains, however, that few parents make as much intelligent use of this important knowledge as they could and should.

As regards the phenomenon of conditioning, on the other hand, parents may not be so well versed. A brief explanation may be helpful. Psychologists point out that we often respond to a familiar stimulus in a most unusual manner. Something which ought naturally to pro-

duce a particular reaction or type of reaction frequently evokes one that is wholly unexpected and wholly unwarranted by the immediate circumstances. For example, a child who had always exhibited vivid curiosity in the presence of goldfish—often inserting his little hand into the aquarium to try to catch them—one day expressed intense fear of the harmless creatures and could not be induced to come near them. Such a response, built up through unconscious association of something he actually did fear with something he ordinarily did not, is called a conditioned fear.

Another child had a playroom in which he played at will. He spent many happy hours there daily. Then an older cousin came to visit, and in the freedom from supervision afforded by the playroom he teased the younger child almost continually. Afterwards, the little fellow displayed a marked dislike for the room—practically refused to enter it. He had developed a conditioned dislike. Obviously, the dislike was for the cousin's teasing; but the child had connected that with the room itself.

One of the children in an experiment directed by Watson exhibited unusual fear of his mother's fur coat collar, which he had always enjoyed caressing and cuddling against. The experimenters had built up in him a fear of his pet rabbit and it had spread to other furry things.

The mother whose child reveals such strange reactions can seldom account for them. She may make little effort to do so, which is doubly unfortunate because the child himself is also unaware of the cause. Conditioning takes place unconsciously. The fact that conditioned responses tend to spread to other stimuli similar to the feared object, the anger-provoking object, or some part of it, greatly complicates the problem.

Parents themselves unconsciously encourage the development of poor emotional habits. Anger, fear, dislike, and displeasure are all caused by interference of some kind with the child's desires, activities, or general well-being. Yet, how many of us are as careful as we could be of the effective environment in which our children are developing? How many of us really consider the child's desires, interests, and rights in connection with his playmates, playthings, and surroundings?

There seems to be a great deal of misinformation, if not actual ignorance, concerning the proper environment for children. Many parents who profess real concern over this factor in child training seem to think that what is stimulating for themselves must likewise be stimulating for their children. They seem unable to comprehend that a faded, one-eyed Raggedy Ann can be infinitely more satisfying than a beautiful and expensive Shirley Temple doll. Two young sons of a university professor repeatedly left their fine red \$50.00 play automobile out in the rain and snow, while they dragged an old pushcart of their own construction to shelter every night.

Other parents evidently feel that they have fully discharged their parental obligations in providing good books, beautiful pictures, and the like. Effective environment involves more than the mere presence of desirable or expensive objects. It requires that the objects become a part of the child's every-day life. They must influence the child in some real manner. Understanding and appreciation are vital considerations, and children must be guided and encouraged in this direction.

The home environment of the average child is exceedingly unstimulating. Far too much of the negative atmosphere pre-

vails. We tell him not to touch something—generally something that is especially attractive because of its novelty, color, or other quality—but we fail to give him a reasonable explanation for our seemingly groundless command. "It belongs to Father"; "Mother would be very unhappy if you. . ."; "You might cut your finger and then could not play ball . . . or the piano," are explanations well within the grasp of the youngster.

When the urge to hammer and nail and chop appears likely to result in irremediable damage to valuable playthings, the piano, or the house itself, we should provide a plentiful supply of old boards for the child's use. Our offer to help build something greatly heightens his interest in our suggested activity. If playing "Mothers" calls for grown-ups' dresses and Mother doesn't want her own gowns dragged over the floor, stuck with pins, and ruined generally, she could arrange to have acceptable costumes available when wanted. The Five and Ten Cent Stores have an excellent assortment. Instead of thwarting the eager little personalities with authoritative stop signs, we should provide or suggest other stimulating entertainment involving similar activity, perhaps, but within the range of approved behavior.

Even in the songs we sing we sometimes lay the foundation for emotional weakness and instability. One fond mother sings a certain song several times a day as she rocks her child—now four years old!—on her lap. Her voice takes on such a lugubrious quality, and she puts so much expression into the words, that both mother and child frequently give way to tears. Here is the song, as nearly as I can recall it:

"Two little coffins lined in black;
Three little angels around my hack:
One to sing and one to pray,
One to carry my soul away!

"Ding, dong, Quaker bell!
Farewell, my Mother!
Just bury me in the little churchyard
Beside my little brother."

Is it any wonder that this little girl is often found weeping disconsolately, for no apparent reason, in some out-of-the-way corner? She is probably totally unaware of the connection between the little brother beside whom she has so frequently and tearfully pled to be buried and the recurrent feelings of grief and insecurity that beset her at play.

Thus most of the groundless fears and "peeves" of adults are built up in childhood through somebody's carelessness. Children are not instinctively afraid of the dark; but a loud, strange, or unexpected noise in the dark may evoke the fear response and the radiating process of conditioning soon connects darkness with countless imaginary fears and misgivings. Similar results come from stories and threats involving ghosts, goblins, the bogey man, policemen, strangers, and other well-known bugaboos. "You'd better behave," we hear a tiny tot admonished, "or that man will get you!" If we seize our little one and dash into the house at the first sight of an exploring dog entering the yard, is it strange that the child develops an abnormal fear of the whole canine race?

The practice of turning the child over to the care of an uneducated and superstitious nurse or maid for a major portion of the waking day is especially deplorable. Why is it that intelligent, well-to-do, and loving parents will trust their most precious possession, at a crucial period of the child's life, to the uninterested, unintelligent guidance of a five or ten dollars-a-week mind? Surely the child's personality is bound to suffer both mentally and emotionally under such tutelage.

Unwise or unthinking punishment also

leads to emotional imbalance in children. Punishment should follow certain rules to produce desirable results. It should be clearly associated with the offense, follow it as closely as possible, be guaranteed to happen as promised, and be administered in an objective, business-like manner. Too often punishment is an admission of the inability of the parent or teacher to cope with the situation. Too often, also, parental anger is the real cause. The parent who says "Don't dare speak to me like that!" or "When I speak to you, obey instantly!" reveals greater concern for parental authority than for the welfare of the child.

Punishment is often the climax of many actions that have been encouraged by parental vacillation and indulgence. Many things the child does and says strike us as cute, cunning, or clever, and we let him see and hear our approbation. We call our visitors' attention to them. Naturally, the child continues doing and saying those things, often amplifying them quite originally, until at last the parent recognizes them as undesirable behavior. "Don't do that any more," says Mother or Daddy, evidently expecting the child to discontinue instantly something that is already a habit. Of course the child soon says or does the forbidden thing again, and wonders why he is punished.

Our own inconsistencies stand out thus in high relief and the child feels that the world is, indeed, the "blooming, buzzing confusion" William James termed it. It is only natural that under such circumstances the child should engage in behavior that to us parents seems extraordinary, to say the least.

The child's behavior often reflects our own. We may not be aware of the peculiar things we do and say; but the keen, alert child, who spends much of his

time studying us grown-ups, is aware of them, and consciously or unconsciously he takes them into his own repertory. We see the child throw a crumpled paper across the room toward a wastepaper basket and missing, leave it on the floor. We hear him use unbecoming language or a grumbling tone of voice. And we scold or punish him, without realizing that he is merely imitating us. He cannot understand why we may do and say things that are not "nice," while he may not. Parents must remember that example is more powerful than precept. We must practice what we preach. Otherwise, habits of sulking, resentment, inferiority, and deception will result, and evil possibilities are limitless.

According to the scientific findings available, the training of the child should be designed to develop him to the fullest extent, but within the limits of his capacity at the time. It is unwise and frequently injurious to anticipate abilities that will develop normally later on. Any premature attempt to force progress may result in resistant and negativistic attitudes toward the particular type of activity, the parent or teacher, or learning in general. Furthermore, our apparent dissatisfaction and disappointment at his failure may cause him to develop feelings of inferiority and insecurity that will stifle his whole future growth.

In view of the infinite number and variety of situations which may permanently affect the development of emotional stability, it is obvious that many deviations from perfection will remain. Many, however, are capable of detection and elimination.

The parent must try to find out what is going on in the child's mind, to understand his viewpoint in the particular instance. We must ascertain the meaning

he gives to the immediate situation, which requires that we know something about the usual workings of the child's mind. We must recognize that all human beings tend to seek physical comfort, success and mastery, approval, love, security, action, and excitement, and at the same time to avoid discomfort, disappointment, disapproval, dullness and boredom. These are the motives that lie back of all human behavior, whether physical, mental, or emotional—and the child is human.

We may lead our children to face their conflicts intelligently and extend their efforts in constructive ways, or we may let them find satisfaction in "flights from reality." The former alternative eliminates emotional abnormality; the latter invites it.

Some children cultivate the habit of finding complete satisfaction in daydreaming, and carry it so far that the slightest effort becomes distasteful and is avoided. Others give up trying entirely, may consciously or unconsciously develop the belief that everyone else is so much better fitted for the task that any attempt on their part would be futile. These may become hopeless cases of inferiority and defeatism—mental and emotional quitters. Still others may compensate for their inability to get what they want by unduly emphasizing some one trait which they possess. These are our bullies, our knockers, who delight in belittling and destroying the successes of others. Still others may seek escape from their ineffectiveness by evading or refusing to face the obvious facts of the case, or by projecting the blame for failure upon their parents, playmates, or playthings.

Undoubtedly, the parent who has watched the day-to-day conduct of his children has glimpsed ample evidences of these aberrations. To check or eliminate them continual watchfulness, study, and

"trial and error" treatment are necessary. When the undesirable emotional habit has already got a start, it is usually more effective to change the stimulus situation than to try to build up a new response to the old situation. Success is more likely if we sift out the cause, the kind of situation which produces the fault, and then substitute something conducive to acceptable conduct in its stead. Changes in physical environment may work. If Mary picks or chews her nails when excited, we supply something to hold. If Johnny tends to be cruel to his dog after playing with a certain child, we curtail the companionship or supervise the play period more closely. New forms of recreation, conversation, stories, helping with the work, and the like are all useful so long as they are handled as steps in a definite plan of corrective treatment.

Many undesirable emotional habits may be eliminated by un-conditioning. The little child conditioned to fear his

rabbit was relieved of the fear by this process. Pleasant associations were transferred back to the animal by substituting pleasure for the fear that accompanied the contact in the conditioning experiment. The rabbit was brought nearer and nearer while the child was eating a favorite food.

Whatever we try will take time and patience. The job of the parent is no sinecure. We are sculpturing in human clay and must acquire as thorough an understanding of our material, our instruments and our methods as possible. Each child is a potential masterpiece. No recognized flaw in the material should be permitted to remain. No known instrument of sound guidance should be left untried. No proven technique of science should be overlooked. The child's successful adjustment *now* is the only thing that even approaches a guarantee of successful and happy adulthood.

CAROLINA-DUKE COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

The University of North Carolina and Duke University, beginning with the fall of 1939, are offering a cooperative program in sociology designed to give professional preparation for those planning to teach marriage and the family or to act as domestic counselors. The full course includes three years of study, one at each institution, and the third where the degree is taken. For example, the student can take the first year at Duke, the second at the University of North Carolina, and the third at Duke, or vice versa. The minor is psychology. The requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy have to be met for those completing the course.

There is a joint committee administering the program, consisting of Professor Howard E. Jensen, Dean Calvin B. Hoover, and Professor Hornell Hart, representing Duke, and Professor Howard W. Odum, Dean W. W. Pierson, and Professor Ernest R. Groves, representing the University of North Carolina.

The required courses at Duke University are as follows:

<i>Fall Semester</i>	
Soc. 319	<i>Principles of Sociology</i> —Dr. Charles A. Ellwood
Medicine	<i>Seminar in Medical Sociology</i> —Dr. Bayard Carter and members of the Staff of the Duke Medical School
Soc. 234	<i>Social Ethics</i> —Dr. Hornell Hart
Soc. 205	<i>Social Pathology</i> —Dr. Howard E. Jensen
<i>Spring Semester</i>	
Soc. 206	<i>Criminology</i> —Dr. Howard E. Jensen
Law	<i>Family Law Seminar</i> —Dr. John S. Bradway
Soc. 212	<i>Child Guidance</i> —Dr. Jensen
Psychology	A Graduate Course in Psychology

The required courses for the University of North Carolina are as follows:

<i>Fall Quarter</i>	
Seminar 331	<i>The Evolution of the American Family</i> —Professor Ernest R. Groves
Soc. 154	<i>Contemporary Society</i> —Dr. Howard W. Odum
Social Work 198	<i>Juvenile Delinquency</i> —Dr. Wiley B. Sanders
<i>Winter Quarter</i>	
Seminar	<i>Contributions to Domestic Theory</i> —Dr. Donald S. Klais
Soc. 186	<i>Population</i> —Dr. Rupert B. Vance
Psychology 140	<i>Psychology of Personality</i> —Dr. English Bagby
<i>Spring Quarter</i>	
Soc. 210	<i>Folk Sociology</i> —Dr. Odum
Seminar 333	<i>Teaching and Counseling in the Field of Marriage and the Family</i> —Ernest R. Groves and Donald S. Klais
Psychology	<i>Child Development</i> —Dr. J. F. Dashiell

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

HOW FAST DID THE JEWS MULTIPLY?

URIAH Z. ENGELMAN

Bureau of Jewish Education, Buffalo, New York

THE Jews are an ancient people, but as a multitudinous population group they are comparatively very young. At the end of the eighteenth century, there were in the world about two and a half million Jews. Of these more than a million were found in the countries of the Near East and a million and a half in Europe. In the following one hundred years the world Jewish population increased more than fourfold. At the end of the nineteenth century world Jewry counted 10,602,000; by 1910 it grew to 12,705,000, and today it is, according to some authorities, close to 16,000,000.¹ This is undoubtedly an amazingly rapid expansion of a population group, and it is so considered by most students of population statistics. Jacob Lestschinsky, a famous Jewish population statistician, views it even as an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of Jewish and non-

Jewish demography.² Similarly thinks also Dr. Arthur Ruppin, Professor of Sociology at the University of Jerusalem, who studied the population growth of the Jews and of a number of other nations for the period of 1800-1900.³

This writer, however, who had analyzed the statistics of the above mentioned investigators, and who had also compared the population increase of the world as a whole, and of separate countries, with Jewish population expansion, had arrived at a different conclusion. He finds the amazement of Mr. Jacob Lestschinsky and of Dr. Ruppin to be unwarranted. On the contrary, this writer finds that Jewish population growth, if anything, was and is much slower than that of most peoples of the world.

First, one should point out that the Jewish population expansion in the nineteenth century was not a specific Jewish phenomenon unrelated to the major population trends of the age. In other words, the Jewish population growth, whatever it was, was not a phenomenon caused by the abnormal fecundity of the Jewish race,

¹ Dr. Arthur Ruppin estimates that in 1930 the number of Jews in the world was 15,903,000 (*Sociologia Shel Hayehudim*, Tel-Aviv 1930, Vol. 1, p. 58). The American Jewish Year-Book for 1937-38 (p. 558) estimates "on the basis of the latest available authoritative sources, the total number of Jews in the world at 15,467,000". Jacob Lestschinsky maintains that the Jewish population in 1936 was above 16,000,000 (*Yiva Blätter*, 1936, Vol. 9, No. 4-5).

² Jacob Lestschinsky, "A Century Changes in Jewish Numbers and Occupations." *The Menorah Journal* (Summer issue, 1932), p. 174.

³ Arthur Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

but formed part of the forward movement of the entire world's population.

How strong this forward population surge of humanity was, is indicated by Edward M. East in his book *Mankind at the Crossroads*. Says Mr. East:

The human race has had a long pull of a million years since it first rose up on its hind legs and made a bid for world supremacy; yet in all this time its natural increase was so slow that in the year 1800 there were less than 850 million people. Since that time, a short hundred years, the population has more than doubled. Half a million years, let us say, to reach a population of 850 millions. Half a million and one hundred years to reach a population of more than 1,700 millions. There is some justification for saying the present age is an age of speed.

Second, all the investigators who had studied Jewish population growth had compared the rate of increase of world Jewry with the rate of growth of separate peoples living within well-delimited territorial boundaries. This method was also used by Dr. Arthur Rupp. He compared the growth of the entire world Jewish population with that of several separate peoples for the nineteenth century, and had found that the population of Egypt had increased 518 percent, that of England and Wales 426 percent, of Norway 300 percent, of Sweden 251 percent, of Portugal 206 percent, of Spain 203 percent, and that of France 139 percent. "The territorial boundaries of all these countries," remarks Dr. Rupp, "were not altered much during the period, and in none of these is the rate of the population increase equal to that of the Jews."⁴ But such a comparison is, to say the least, unscientific; it leads to false deductions and gives an utterly distorted conception of the relative growth of Jewish numbers.

The Jewish population is in a sense a world population. It is scattered over all the continents of the world, and, hence,

anyone wishing to evaluate comparatively its relative rate of growth should compare it with the rate of growth of populations similarly scattered.

Such a population group is available. These are the English-speaking whites who hail from Great Britain and who are relatively as widely scattered as the Jews are. A comparison of the relative growth of these two widely distributed populations will show that the relative growth of the Jewish population was far from being unprecedented. On the contrary, it was very slow. But let the statistics tell the tale. I quote from a report by the United States Census Bureau.

The population of Great Britain in 1712 is estimated to have been but 9,000,000. During the succeeding century Great Britain contributed from the small population the stock which formed the larger part of the white population of the United States in 1790, and which increased by 1900 to more than 35,000,000 souls. In 1801 the population of the United Kingdom was 16,200,000; by 1900 it had increased to 41,000,000. But during the 19th century the mother country also contributed, even more freely than she had contributed during the 18th century, to North America, to the population of the United States and to that of a score of younger colonies. The spectacle is thus presented of a nation which not only increased very generously, but which at the same time created other nations, one of whom alone produced within the century a national population nearly equal to that of the mother country. It is possible that a population growth similar in character may have occurred upon a small scale in connection with some of the colonies established by ancient cities along the Mediterranean, but in magnitude there appears to be no parallel in history for this population achievement of the British race from 1700-1900.⁵

By the side of this enormous expansion of the English speaking whites, the claim that the rate of Jewish population increase was unmatched, is, to put it generously, quite ungrounded. Besides, these in-

⁴ Arthur Rupp, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁵ *A Century of Population Growth, 1790-1900*, United States Bureau of the Census Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909), p. 91.

vestigators are guilty yet of another error of judgment. They base their conclusions on the relative growth of the Jewish and non-Jewish population numbers for the last one hundred years only. But in thus limiting their comparisons these investigators fail to account for the fact that the non-Jewish populations had increased also prior to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, while the Jewish population declined almost continuously up to the eighteenth century.

The population of Europe, Rossiter tells us, "must have been in the year 1000 between eighteen and thirty millions," in the early centuries "the population increase was extremely slow, but tended century by century to gather headway; an increase of possibly 33 percent one hundred years was reached by the seventeenth century, and of 50 percent by the eighteenth century."⁶

But this wide trend of population expansion which had extended for many centennia, and had embraced the entire European continent, and all the races inhabiting it, had shut out the Jewish population from its field of operation. The Jews during all these centuries did not expand, but, on the contrary, they saw their numbers thinning out. It was only recently, during the last century and a half, with the ushering in of the Industrial Revolution that Europe's impulses of population expansion caught the Jews into their vortex.

In the days of Augustus there were in the Roman Empire four and one-half million Jews who formed between 7 and 9 percent of its entire population.⁷ Had

the Jews increased relatively as fast as the other populations of the world, there would have been to-day 75,000,000 Jews only in the countries which were once comprised in the orbit of the Roman Empire, and that orbit, it is well to note, did not include Russia, Poland, and the United States in which today live more than 60 percent of world Jewry.

In reality, as we have mentioned before, there are altogether in the world less than 16,000,000 Jews.

From the first centuries of the Christian Era till about two centuries ago Jewish population numbers declined. They declined during the turbulent period of the break-up of the Roman civilization, and continued to sink in the following centennia when the manorial economy emerged on the ruins of the Roman urban modes of life. This shrinkage of Jewish numbers continued almost till the eighteenth century.

The relative slowness of Jewish population growth is also revealed when it is compared not only with the expansion of the population of Europe as a whole but with the rise of separate nations for periods longer than one hundred years. Germany, for instance, had at the end of the fifteenth century (1480) a population of about 800,000 people. In 1925, it numbered 62,340,782 souls.⁸ The Germans had thus increased 7750 percent in less than 500 years. The increase of the German population was indeed even larger than is indicated by the above figures, since they do not include the millions of German immigrants and their descendants who live outside of the Fatherland but who in a comparison of this kind should be added to the German numbers. Now, the Jewish rate of mul-

⁶ S. Russiter, "The Adventure of Population Growth," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (March, 1932), p. 563.

⁷ Adolph Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (Putnam Sons, N. Y., 1908), Vol. 1, p. 10.

⁸ H. G. Duncan, *Race and Population Problems* (N. Y. 1929), p. 247.

tiplication seems quite niggardly when compared with that of the Germans.

Also the Englishmen—not the English-speaking whites of whom we spoke above, but those of the English Isles—have increased at a faster rate than the Jews. In 1066 the population of the United Kingdom, it is estimated, was 3,500,000 but in 1929 it reached the total of 45,734,000.

That the expansion of Jewish numbers was slower than that of many other nations is also revealed when the comparison of the relative growth of the Jewish and non-Jewish populations is confined to the past century and to a specific territory. Thus, for instance, the United States Census Bureau calculated that the 4,400,000 whites who had lived in the United States in 1800 had expanded to 37,290,000 by 1900, more than an eight-fold increase in a century. The Jews multiplied during this time only fourfold.

It is thus obvious that the growth of the Jewish population was quite slow, either when compared with the growth of the total world population, or with the rise of many separate populations for shorter or longer stretches of time. Many

populations have outdistanced the Jews in respect to both size and rate of growth. What is, however, remarkable about the expansion of World Jewry, is not the extent of the expansion but some of the features which accompanied it. A detailed discussion of these features lies outside the frame of this article. I shall only in brief refer to them.

First, almost the entire natural increase of the Jewish population in the nineteenth century from two and one-half million to over ten million occurred within one geographic area in Eastern Europe. This area served as the hinterland of Jewish population growth. From here streams of Jewish migrants were directed to all parts of the world. Second, the expansion of the Jewish population during this period (nineteenth century) was a result not of a rise in Jewish birth-rates but of a sharp decline in the Jewish death-rates. Third, the Jews grew in numbers though they did not have a rural hinterland to draw upon for human material. And, lastly, World Jewry expanded despite the fact that they concentrated increasingly more in the large commercial and industrial urban centers of the world.

HETEROCENTRISM—PROPOSING A NEW TERM

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

ETHNOCENTRISM, a term coined by Sumner more than a quarter century ago, has served a very useful purpose in designating the familiar phenomenon of in-group pride and the correlative derogatory attitude toward the folkways of the out-group. "Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it is observed that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn," says Sumner.¹ This term is,

of course, not an explanatory concept, but it merely identifies the common trait pervading such activities as propagation of "our" faith, the struggle to make the world safe for our form of government, exaltation of our form of morality, universalization of our own aesthetic tastes, race bigotry and many other patterns of behavior in the repertoires of all members of a society. An accompanying characteristic of this phenomenon is the imperiousness to contradiction that protects

¹ *Folkways* (1907), pp. 12-15.

this attitude against disintegration. The poverty of a Russian, for example, is accepted as evidence of the weakness of his form of government; not so the unemployment in a democracy, where the emphasis is laid on the "high standard of living." Thus, through the agency of "rationalization," the foreign folkway of government is judged by its "defects," while the native folkway is judged by its "virtues."

On examining the expositions of this concept, one is left with the impression that ethnocentrism is all but universal. "Always the we-group and its code are exalted, while the others-groups and their ways are viewed with suspicion, hostility and contempt."² Furthermore, the term is unquestionably a convenient instrument of disillusionment because it induces a certain objectivity toward the study of comparative cultures. However, so commonplace and axiomatic is this phenomenon, and so ethnocentric-minded have we become, that the converse—namely the exaltation of the traits of the out-group—has been neglected. The emulation on the part of the Negro of white culture traits, even in respect to physical features, the resort to foreign fashion and sartorial style, the worship of Greek achievements, the prestige in some quarters of Hindu philosophy and Chinese herb medicine—all these testify to the equally familiar phenomenon of a sense of inferiority with respect to the folkways of the in-group and an admiration for the standards of the foreign group. Apparently, then, the only certain thing is that sometimes, and in some respects, groups are ethnocentric, and sometimes they are not. Sometimes they exalt their own standards and seek to impose them on others, and sometimes they belittle their

own achievements in favor of the romantic, the strange and the foreign. If the cultural heritage may perpetuate the chosen people complex, it may also, as at times among the Negroes, perpetuate the belief that salvation and contentment will be achieved only in sloughing off their own folkways in favor of the superior foreign traits. This orientation toward the patterns of the alien standards we may call "heterocentrism."³

For Sumner, who derived his data principally from preliterate societies, this term (ethnocentrism) might have been adequate to represent his observations. Preliterate culture is probably more homogeneous than is any modern culture with its cross-currents of diffusion. Even now sociologists frequently describe culture as though it were a fully integrated unity. Consequently, concepts such as "ethnocentric" are applied in toto with only careless consideration given to discrepant cases. Today, however, culture is not a unitary concept, but is made up of traits and patterns that are diffused and borrowed individually with relative ease. Varying with the group, some of these traits are objects of ethnocentric devotion, while others are disparaged and rejected in favor of the "superior" foreign standard, while on still others one may feel indifferent or neutral—"acentric" if one must have a homologue. If, in cultural and racial contacts, ethnocentrism is a significant by-product, heterocentrism is no less so. But the factors that determine the ethnocentric or heterocentric values are only discoverable through the study of the respective social groups, and such analysis constitutes one of the fundamental problems of sociology itself.

² George P. Murdock, *Ethnocentrism* in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1931), III, pp. 613-14.

³ This term is a compound of the Greek "heteros" = other, different, and "-centrism." The prefix is the same as employed in many other English words, e.g. "heterodox," "heterogeneous."

REJOINDER

JAMES G. LEYBURN

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THERE is no doubt whatever as to the existence of the phenomenon Professor Mueller describes. Careful research should prove illuminating, since admiration for the ways of outside groups exerts an influence on the folkways and mores of the in-group. The investigator would have to determine whether the admiration was shared by the whole group or by only a few individuals, whether it concerned most of the social institutions or only a few of the folkways, whether it had been of long duration or seemed to be a mere momentary fad.

In contrast to ethnocentrism, the phenomenon which Professor Mueller discusses is of limited occurrence. Ethnocentrism is all but universal. The restricted appearance of "heterocentrism" (if this be the proper term) does not, however, make it any less significant; it merely makes the task of studying it more difficult.

Is "heterocentrism" the correct term? Etymologically, it would seem to mean a feeling of admiration for all the ways of all outside groups or at least an admiration for all the ways of an outside group. What Professor Mueller describes is not this, but rather the exaltation of specific traits of definite sub-groups outside one's own society. This is apparent upon reference to the illustrations in his second paragraph. The Negroes do not emulate

all whites, but only those of a certain class. It is the achievements of the Greek artists and dramatists, not of the slaves, which are admired—and this, by the way, not to the necessary disparagement of the art and drama of modern times. A group may be ethnocentric even about its ability to appreciate the value of a foreign achievement. The Anglophiles in this country are generally ethnocentric about their Anglophilism.

There are, of course, many sociological terms whose origin is inexact. ("Ethnocentrism" is one of them, for "ethnos" means race, while ethnocentrism is a feeling which may apply to any group, whether race, nation, section, or economic interest group.) It seems undesirable to add still another term of doubtful origin.¹ Moreover, sociology already has a plethora of coined words, whose definition is known only to a limited group of professionals, and whose precise meaning has become a matter of sterile debate. Might it not be advisable first to study the phenomenon of admiration by sub-groups of outside ways, and then to search for a terminology?

Professor Mueller has done a valuable service in calling attention to this converse aspect of ethnocentrism.

¹ "Heteros" means "other"; might not "xeno-", meaning "strange(r)", "foreign(er)", "outside(r)", be a bit more precise? (This suggestion is not made with any assurance, for "xeno" has, in English, a "xenotic" look.)

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

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INTRODUCTION

A FIELD hitherto almost unexplored in the development of international relations is the influence of private international organizations upon the growth of international co-operation. Under Article 24 of the Covenant, certain League of Nations public international organizations created after the war "shall be placed under direction of the League" and already existing agencies may be so placed after States' members consent. Various other provisions of this article have stimulated a considerable amount of activity at Geneva in coördinating the work of international agencies not only official but unofficial. The Council, for instance, as early as 1923 at its twenty-fifth session took account of private international organizations. It resolved that "while emphasizing the value which sets on the collaboration of unofficial organizations in the study of special questions . . . is . . . of the opinion that it is not desirable to risk diminishing the activity of these voluntary international organizations, the number of which is fortunately increasing, by even the appearance of official supervision."

Since that time there has been increasing attention given to the part played by private international organizations in the development of League policies and a steadily developing contact between the League and the International Labor Organization and many of these agencies. In the fifteen years since the resolution, the number of these organizations has steadily increased; in the latest Handbook of International Organizations published by the League in 1936 there are over 600 listed.

While, of course, it is true that these organizations are without official authority and do not in any way exercise governmental functions, their influence in the initiation and development of official action is increasing faster perhaps than their actual number. It would not be unfair to describe some of them as international pressure groups consciously concerned with the development of public policy on matters within their range of interest. Others of a particularly cultural or esthetic character have not had and are unlikely to have much concern with governmental action. There is a third group, however, which, although entirely

unofficial in origin and character and not primarily concerned with particular governmental policies, does nevertheless tend to provide a vehicle by which private and unofficial opinion becomes more or less rapidly crystallized upon issues inevitably of public concern and ultimately of government action. It is this group which is of particular significance in a consideration of the contemporary development of international coöperation. It is, therefore, not irrelevant to consider some of these agencies in the light of their influence, on the one hand, as foci of research upon issues where conflict of national action is likely to arise, and, on the other, as border line institutions in the wide realm of international organization. The present study will be concerned with one of the most unique and influential of these organizations, the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).

It is unnecessary to elaborate the significance of the "Pacific Rim" in contemporary world politics. Culturally, this region contains a greater variety of factors than perhaps any other comparable area in the world. Economically, the trade of the Pacific area is steadily increasing in world balances, and its natural resources play a significant part in the improvement of standards of living around the world. It has also been, as it still is, a region in which the stakes of empire have been of paramount importance internally and internationally. Politically, on the fringes of the Rim there is a wider variety of governmental organization and practice than in any other region. Out of these contrasting elements there is gradually emerging a regional consciousness of identities as well as conflicts of interest. If genuine coöperation is to be developed in the next decade during which the conflicts are not likely to be diminished, these identities obviously require

exploration and clarification. It is to this task that the Institute of Pacific Relations is devoted.

ORIGINS OF THE IPR

The inception of the idea for what has become the IPR originated as early as 1919 among officers of the Young Men's Christian Association in various countries on the Pacific Rim. Various informal meetings were held among interested individuals during the next three years. At the end of 1923 a somewhat broader conception of the purpose of such a conference began to emerge. While the emphasis was still on "the problems of the Pacific peoples from a Christian point of view," the purpose of collaboration was clearly envisaged as primarily explorative and educational. A call was issued for a conference to be held in Honolulu in July, 1925, in which these broader objectives were elaborated and emphasized. It is significant to note that the membership of the conference was to include persons known to be in sympathy with its spirit and problems regardless of religious affiliation.

At the first conference, 111 people participated in a two weeks' session devoted to examining what problems were paramount in the Pacific region and suggesting the direction of further exploration of these problems. Representatives from many groups besides the Y.M.C.A. participated from Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States. Business men, experts on Far-Eastern problems, a few past civil servants, and others participated along with representatives of the Y.M.C.A. from these countries.

There emerged from the discussions clear recognition by all concerned that some agency for facilitating contact and coöperation in research among represen-

tative individuals and groups in the different countries on the Pacific Rim was useful if, indeed, not essential, to their effective solution. While no permanent organization was set up, it was generally recognized that future conferences of a similar nature should be held.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE IPR

A second conference was called for 1927 in Honolulu by an executive committee which had been appointed by the first conference. This conference marked the definitive establishment of the IPR on a permanent basis which was facilitated by several developments. In the first place, a constitution was drawn up which, although amended in minor detail since, remains the basis of its organization. The object of the IPR was stated as "the study of the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations." Membership was established on the basis of national units, organized expressly as National Councils of the IPR, or by the assimilation of an already existing organization with similar purposes which undertook to become the national representative of the Institute. National councils could be formed in any sovereign or autonomous state, or any country having possessions in the Pacific region. Second, the government of the IPR was placed on a permanent basis under a Pacific Council, which was to include one member from each National Council and the chairman of the Advisory Committee which was set up in Honolulu to bring together persons particularly equipped to aid the Secretary General in the development of the Institute's work.* An International Secretariat was provided for and was originally located at Honolulu but is now peripatetic, though located at

present mainly in New York. The Secretariat acts as a coördinating agency for developing the research activities of the National Councils along parallel lines, and initiates studies on its own account to which the various national groups contribute data and semi-official materials bearing on problems of common interest. It acts also as a clearing house for staff members from the various National Councils and facilitates exchanges of personnel and specific staff studies among them.

Conferences were to be periodic; in practice they were biennial up to 1933. The next meeting was in 1936 and a special "study meeting" is to be held in 1939. Finances of the IPR were placed upon a voluntary basis, through contributions from the various National Councils and other groups who might be interested to take part. In practice there has been a broad development of its financial structure, as a number of foundations and business groups as well as individuals have taken a share in underwriting the work of the IPR.

National membership in the IPR has notably expanded during the past decade to include national councils in the following eleven countries, Australia, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippine Islands, the U. S. S. R., and the United States. In the case of Great Britain, France, the U. S. S. R., Canada and Australia, the IPR Council forms part of a larger national organization for the study of international affairs. Korea ceased to have independent representation after the 1927 conference.

It is obvious that the Latin American countries bordering on the Pacific Rim are also eligible to membership, and it is anticipated that they will take an increasing interest in the work of the IPR as the range of its activities continues to expand

* This Advisory Committee was dissolved in 1936.

to include problems both economic and social of immediate concern to them.

The organization of the National Councils is no less interesting than that of the IPR itself. A number of them has been established (as in the case of the United States) as an independent National Council of the IPR with a separate staff organization and program of work. In other cases, as, for instance, in Great Britain and France, already existing agencies for the study of international problems have become the national representatives of the IPR (in Great Britain, the Royal Institute of International Affairs—Chatham House; in France, the Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère).

While the IPR is, of course, entirely unofficial in character, its relations particularly through its National Councils with the various governments, is increasingly important. On the one hand, an increasing number of officials participate in the conferences. A number of the national delegations regularly include either members of Parliament or past and present members of Foreign Office staffs. While they in no sense represent their governments, their political relations at home are not unimportant to closer contact between the IPR and responsible officials. Second, the National Councils tend to become representative agencies for presenting formally or informally to government officials points of view upon policy in the Pacific Rim pursued by the different powers. While detachment from official responsibility obviously lessens formal influence, and while the IPR pursues a policy of abstention from any kind of pressure group activity, the impartiality of its appraisal of government policy lends weight to the observations of its representatives. There is increasing evidence that unsolicited requests for the

opinions of the IPR by responsible officials on proposed policies are increasing.

The same tendency is apparent also in the sphere of international organizations such as the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. Both organs have been regularly represented by observers at all conferences from 1927 on. Regular reports have been submitted by Secretariat members of both the League and the I. L. O. in their unofficial capacity and have been the basis for extended discussion in the conferences. In 1936 a "Memorandum on the work of the League in Relation to the Pacific" of over 100 pages was unofficially printed by Secretariat members, with the imprint, "League of Nations," appearing on the title page. The importance of this kind of relationship in the development of administrative coöperation in the Pacific region can hardly be overemphasized. It is obvious, too, that governmental coöperation as elaborated through the machinery of the League is facilitated not only by the research activities of the IPR but by whatever degree of consensus upon future policy is achieved at its conferences.

THE WORK OF THE IPR

The work of the IPR falls under three main headings, research, conferences, and education.

In any international organization examination and presentation of facts necessarily precede the elaboration and application of policy. As in the case of official agencies like the League and the I. L. O., the research work carried on by the IPR is of central significance to the development of discussion and attainment of agreement upon questions of common concern.

The organization of the research work of the IPR is carried out along two lines. First, the various National Councils en-

gage in the examination of specific problems of particular concern with respect to the policies of their national governments. These researches are sometimes coördinated around items placed on the agenda of future conferences. They emerged as "data papers" submitted to the conferences and are circulated through the various National Councils to all national groups. Second, independent research activities have been undertaken by the International Secretariat. These have been confined primarily to preliminary explorations of questions which the Secretariat proposes to succeeding conferences as matters for consideration. On occasion larger projects undertaken either by one of the National Councils or by a joint research program among several, appear in book form and include a definite survey of a particular problem. A number of the economic studies of the IPR have already become the standard reference works in their field.

As the work of the Institute has grown, it has become increasingly evident that certain problems of common concern to countries on the Pacific Rim require concerted attack from various national viewpoints. There is evidence of increasingly close coöperation in the analysis of these problems by experts in the different countries. For instance, the problem of varying standards of living in different countries—involving important issues of fact as to the degree of variation and the significance of psychological attitudes toward these variations—has recently been undertaken as a joint economic-sociological study in all the member countries of the Institute. When completed it is obvious that much of the misconception which today exists about the significance of different standards of living, which result very often from the lack of intimate

acquaintance on the part of the student with the psychological factors inherent in different countries, will be eliminated. Many problems of this character which have hitherto seemed almost insusceptible of effective analysis will yield to the type of coöperative research which is being undertaken by the IPR.

The publications resulting from the research work of the various staffs of the IPR have already become standard throughout the world. Not only are many of the papers produced in individual countries translated for general use in other countries, but they are regularly utilized by government officials. The Institute has developed one general publication, the Quarterly, *Pacific Affairs*. In addition, the British, Australian, USSR, and American national councils are publishing regular research services. The fortnightly *Far Eastern Survey* of the American Council is certainly the most important source of current information on economic, social, and political problems of the Far East today available in English. The entire list of publications of the IPR now runs to several hundred items. Their objectivity has made them indispensable to scholars, economic groups, and public officials throughout the world.

The second main function of the IPR is carried out through its conferences. Six have already been held, two at Honolulu, one at Kyoto, one at Shanghai, one at Banff, and one at Yosemite National Park. National representation in the conferences has steadily increased in size and authority. As has already been mentioned, an increasing number of government officials, past and present, are participating. Business and industrial leaders, newspaper editors, and experts on the various problems considered, comprise the balance of the delegations which ordinarily number about 125.

The procedure of the conferences is that of round table discussion based upon an agreed agenda set up sufficiently in advance to allow adequate research preparation and individual analysis by the delegates. The reports of the conferences, published under the title *Problems of the Pacific*, include a number of the data papers and summaries of the round table discussions. The increasing significance of these discussions in the formation of public opinion may be noted in the steadily increasing publicity given to the proceedings and preparations of the conferences. A rough check of the *New York Times* indicates that between 1931 and 1936 the number of items increased by over fifty percent and the space by nearly as much.

The conferences tend increasingly to concentrate upon particular aspects of the general problems of the Pacific Rim. Such questions as "economic conflict and control" indicate the type and scope of concentration. The conferences do not attempt to put forward a platform for action. They are intended rather to bring together experts and persons actively engaged in the formation or application of policy, and to bring about clarification of ideas and attitudes through informal discussion in an atmosphere of friendly coöperation. While no formal recommendations are issued as a result of the conferences, it needs no emphasis to indicate the value of this procedure from the point of view of reconciling conflicting international attitudes on the basis of which conflicts of policies have in the past been justified. A decade is no doubt too short a time in which to expect to see the complete reconciliation of conflicting viewpoints even among unofficial representatives of the different countries. But it is not perhaps illusory to expect that the process of collaboration which has

resolved so many conflicts in domestic policy will also function effectively in the international sphere. The procedure of bringing together unofficial representatives who have influence at home in different spheres of economic, social, and political life as a first step towards the reconciling of official attitudes on controversial questions makes the IPR experiment unique in the development of international coöperation.

And this approach to the reconciliation of conflicting claims is buttressed by the third major aspect of the IPR's work, education. From the beginning it has emphasized the importance of understanding as a basis for action and sought ways of developing that understanding. As its activities have developed, it has expanded the range of its educational services. In the 1934 report of the American Council, their nature was summarized as follows:

(1) aiding in the development of American scholarship in regard particularly to China, Japan, and the Soviet Union in the Far East; (2) promoting the supply of materials on these countries suitable for use in schools, universities and in various forms of adult education; (3) stimulating textbook and curriculum revision with a view to adequate presentation of Far Eastern subjects; (4) interpreting current events in the Pacific in the light of the accumulating body of information on that region; and (5) promoting and facilitating interest in Far Eastern subjects and the relations of the United States thereto on the part of various groups, organizations, associations and clubs.

The annual reports of the IPR and of the National Councils have implemented these general objectives with an increasing array of specific projects in scientific and popular methods of education, ranging all the way from research facilities to scholars and language and cultural studies initiated at university centers in different countries to movie and radio programs sponsored by or actually produced under

IPR auspices. This aspect of the IPR work is designed to build up an informed public opinion in the various countries on the Pacific Rim. The study groups of the various National Councils, which include representatives from economic as well as professional groups, offer another convenient and often effective means for mobilizing accurate information on immediate issues, which may be of direct influence on the public opinion in the various countries on specific issues as well as on official action.

THE FUTURE OF THE IPR

This brief description of the origin, organization, and work of the IPR suggests that its future is significant for the nations on the Pacific Rim. First of all, it has established machinery within that region for developing a coöperative attack on problems of common interest to the peoples of the different countries. Its existence makes possible a continuing study of these problems which here, as in many other similar situations in which difference of environment is perhaps the most important single factor, make for their ultimate solution. The infrequent attention of many official agencies to particular problems, or their impermanence, is one of the most serious barriers to effective governmental coöperation. The existence of an agency so representative and so well equipped as the IPR to study and so to interpret these problems, not from a single national but from a consciously international viewpoint, is pregnant for the future.

Second, the process of round table discussion which it has developed in its conferences for bringing together official and unofficial representatives of varying cultural, economic, social, and political backgrounds is significant. It has created for the first time the machinery of col-

laboration upon all the problems within this region. By defining the frontiers geographically, the problems themselves are at least in part more clearly defined. By initiating the equal representation of all the groups interested in those problems, it has facilitated their capacity for consensus.

Finally, it is in this latter respect that the IPR seems to hold the greatest promise for the future. By analysing issues before they have become critical, by exploring the data upon which an understanding of conflicting viewpoints can effectively be based, it has already become an agency for clarifying the elements of official policy. Whether or not immediate results are registered in governmental action is relatively unimportant. It is unlikely that in the long run the impact of the consensus obtained among representatives of influential groups, within the countries on the Pacific Rim will not be reflected in more coöperative attitude among responsible officials—out of which alone concerted action can emerge.

It would be illusory to expect, in the face of events in China since 1931, and especially since 1937, that the IPR will become, in the immediate future, a mechanism for resolving longstanding disputes or age-old national rivalries and antipathies. But it is perhaps the most effective agency for creating that kind of genuine and useful understanding among the peoples on which alone any ultimate coöperation among governments can be based.¹

¹The data for this paper have been obtained from publications of the IPR and from personal acquaintance with the work of the American Council and of the International Secretariat. A complete bibliography of the publications of the IPR, and of the National Councils, can be obtained from the American Council, 129 East 52 Street, New York City. See also F. E. Ware, *The Study of International Relations in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special feature reviews, briefer comment, and announcements

INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

- A New Approach to Social Action.....Warner E. Gettys 425
 Parson's *THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL ACTION*.
 Research in Social Aspects of the Depression.....428
 Social Science Research Council's *Research Memoranda on Social Aspects of the Depression*:
 Sellin's *CRIME IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Lee M. Brooks 428
 The Educational Policies Commission's *EDUCATION IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Edgar W. Knight 429
 Stouffer and Lazarsfeld's *THE FAMILY IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Margaret Jarman Hagood 429
 Thompson's *INTERNAL MIGRATION IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Joseph J. Spengler 430
 Young's *MINORITY PEOPLES IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Guy B. Johnson 430
 Steiner's *RECREATION IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Harold D. Meyer 431
 Kincheloe's *RELIGION IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Lee M. Brooks 431
 Sanderson's *RURAL LIFE IN THE DEPRESSION*.....S. H. Hobbs, Jr. 431
 Vaile's *SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CONSUMPTION IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Francis S. Wilder 432
 Collins and Tibbitts' *SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HEALTH IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Lee M. Brooks 433
 Waples' *SOCIAL ASPECTS OF READING IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Carl M. White 433
 White and White's *SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIEF POLICIES IN THE DEPRESSION*; Chapin and Queen's *SOCIAL WORK IN THE DEPRESSION*.....Katharine Jocher 433
 Economics.....Albert S. Keister 435
 Mitchell's *GENERAL ECONOMICS*; Kickhofer's *PROBLEMS IN ECONOMICS*; Meyers' *ELEMENTS OF MODERN ECONOMICS*; Mitchell's *THE BACKWARD ART OF SPENDING MONEY AND OTHER ESSAYS*.
 Youth Submits to Research.....Harold D. Meyer 437
 Rainey and Others' *HOW FAIR AMERICAN YOUTH?* American Association of School Administrators'
 YOUTH EDUCATION TODAY; Bell's *YOUTH TELL THEIR STORY*; Stewart's *YOUTH IN THE WORLD OF TODAY*;
 Melvin's *RURAL YOUTH ON RELIEF*; Robertson's *A STUDY OF YOUTH NEEDS AND SERVICES IN DALLAS, TEXAS*; Harley's *SURVEYS OF YOUTH*; *YOUTH LEADERS DIGEST*.
 The Newspaper and the Social Order.....Harry Estill Moore 440
 Lee's *THE DAILY NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA*; Kingsbury, Hart, and Associates' *NEWSPAPERS AND THE NEWS*;
 Johnson, Kent, Mencken, and Owens' *THE SUNPAPERS OF BALTIMORE, 1837-1937*; Acheson's *35,000 DAYS IN TEXAS*.
 UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR PRESIDENTS.....Edgar W. Knight 443
 Russell's *THE RISE OF A UNIVERSITY: THE LATER DAYS OF OLD COLUMBIA COLLEGE*; Elliott's *THE RISE OF A UNIVERSITY: THE UNIVERSITY IN ACTION*; Wilbur's *STANFORD HORIZONS*; Elliott's *STANFORD UNIVERSITY: THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS*.
 The Rural South?.....Bruce L. Melvin 446
 Simon's *THE SHARECROPPER*; Kroll's *I WAS A SHARECROPPER*.
 Odum and Moore's *AMERICAN REGIONALISM*.....Paul H. Landis 447
 Spruill's *WOMEN'S LIFE AND WORK IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES*.....Mary R. Beard 449
 Henry's *THE STORY OF RECONSTRUCTION*.....Henry T. Shanks 450
 New Books Received.....452

A NEW APPROACH TO SOCIAL ACTION

WARNER E. GETTYS

University of Texas

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL ACTION. By Talcott Parsons. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937. 817 pp. \$6.00.

Once in a very great while there appears under American authorship a really notable book in the field of sociological theory. Most books in the field, though they may display a certain laudable erudition and considerable industry on the part of their authors, present little or nothing original in thought or point of view and contribute not at all to the construction of a sound, discriminating, critical theoretical system of social thought. They consist rather of mere rehashes of the theories of older scholars, sometimes faintly illuminated by glimmerings of insight and touched by a few highlights of rhetoric, or they are not particularly interesting or enlightening adumbrations on the obvious.

The book here under review is of a quite different sort. It is of a genre almost unique in recent American sociology. It has its faults, but what human product hasn't? Here and there throughout its pages the tone may seem to some to be too *ex cathedra*; but this reviewer wishes to rise to the author's defense, if any be needed, to indicate that here is a work in which the author may be pardoned for taking great pride. It represents an outstanding contribution to American sociological scholarship.

Parsons has developed somewhat empirically a theory of social action largely in terms of the theories of a group of writers in the field of social theory—Marshall, Pareto, Durkheim, and Max Weber. In the Preface he points out that originally he had no intention of "tracing

the development of a theoretical system through the works of these four men," and that only very gradually did it become evident, as he studied their writings "that there was a single coherent theoretical system to be found there." "It was the fact that all of them in different ways were concerned with the range of certain empirical problems," treated from diverse points of view and involving a common conceptual scheme, that caused the author to redirect his interest "to the working out of the scheme for its own sake." This he has accomplished with discernment and distinction.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, entitled "The Positivistic Theory of Action," states the problem in tentative fashion, reserving for Part IV, "Conclusion," what are denominated "Empirically Verified Conclusions" and a statement of "Tentative Methodological Implications." Chapter I, in addition to stating the problem, presents the author's working hypotheses, the considerations that dictated the choice of writers to be treated, and a discussion of different types of theoretical concepts and their relations to the empirical elements of scientific knowledge. The rest of Part I is devoted to delineating the main features of the system, its continuity in terms of the retention of a basic conceptual pattern throughout the process, "the logical structure of the initial version or related groups of versions with which this process starts," and, finally, a brief history of the system in Western European social thought. All of this is preparatory to an intensive analysis of the system in Parts II and III. The author has been

careful to delimit his field of study, to define his terms, to set up selected theoretical assumptions from which to operate in later chapters.

Part II, "The Emergence of a Voluntary Theory of Action from the Positivistic Tradition," opens with a chapter on the contributions of Alfred Marshall to modern economic thought, with particular attention to his important departure from the more strictly classical economic theory of the time and his emphasis upon the utility concept and the marginal idea. The marginal utility notion served to lead him into the problem of value, wherein there was developed his principle-of-substitution conception, which, in turn, suggested "a certain provisional interpretation of cost of production, in terms of utility," and the related conception of marginal productivity, deriving from that of utility. The chief significance of Marshall's theory for Parsons' purpose lies in the fact that (1) it "forms a single coherent whole, a logical system, dependent on certain assumptions and generally valid within certain limits," and (2) it embraces within the framework of the system a new element, namely, "activities," which "become the basis of a theory of the 'progressive development of character' which promotes the concrete realization of an individualistic economy, of free enterprise." Thus Marshall, departing from the positivistic tradition in economic theory, developed by strictly empirical interests and methods a decidedly rational and sociological theory of economic action.

The next three chapters are devoted to the much less empirical, but more methodological and abstract socio-economic theory of Pareto, who, like Marshall, launched out from neo-positivism, but who, unlike Marshall, followed a quite different course, one leading to the

logical isolation of "the economic element in a theoretical system of its own, and supplementing it with a sociology which took account systematically of certain noneconomic elements and synthesized them with the economic in a final general picture." Parsons passes over lightly the contrasting and opposing elements in the respective theories of Marshall and Pareto and then takes up for extended discussion the latter's methodology and main analytical scheme. Since these are probably well known to most American sociologists they will be passed by in this review. The author then proceeds to analyze what he calls Pareto's sophisticated approach to the study of action free from positivistic dogmas. This involves consideration of Pareto's differentiation between logical action and non-logical action, which, with the refinements made by Pareto, enables Parsons to project his treatment of the structure of action systems much farther than he was able to do with Marshall alone. In the words of the author, "This makes it possible to gain a much more accurate view of the status of the value element which Marshall introduced with his activities. It further makes it possible to clarify greatly the place in a total system of action of those elements which have been the traditional concern of economic theory. Finally, by definitely breaking through certain of Marshall's limitations and those of positivistic theory generally, it has been possible to open up vast new vistas, both theoretical and empirical, for further exploration."

The four chapters which follow in Part II are given over to the work of Durkheim. Although the treatment of the salient points of Durkheim's theoretical system is here compressed within the compass of a hundred and seventy pages

it impresses this reviewer as the best in the English language. Parsons notes the empirical nature of Durkheim's science, a fact often overlooked by his critics, and skillfully treats both the empirical and theoretical aspects together. Only by so doing does the author think it possible to understand Durkheim's work in the methodological field. Durkheim's critics are taken to task and shown the error of their ways in a very convincing manner.

Durkheim is represented as starting out as empiricist and positivist, but as gradually swinging toward the sociologistic and idealistic. Methodologically his scientific evolution was significant in its implications. In this respect he and Pareto arrive at essentially the same position, though they do so by quite different routes. In a summary of Part II, Parsons brings together in more intimate juxtaposition the theories and methodologies of the three men previously discussed and concludes that "neither the radical positivistic position nor the related utilitarian view is a stable methodological basis for the theoretical sciences of action."

After an opening chapter on "The Idealistic Tradition," Part III consists of four chapters dealing with those parts of the logically imperfect and unfinished system of Max Weber which are consonant with the general plan of analysis developed in this book. Once again this reviewer is led to remark that in these chapters he has found the wisest interpretation and soundest criticism of Weber's more significant writings to be found in English. The author makes the reader aware of the difficulties he faced in undertaking to trace through "the bold outlines of a theoretical system" from Weber's mass of detail. That he has succeeded so well is a matter for congratulation.

Weber developed progressively from an early preoccupation with legal history,

wherein he showed how thoroughly he had been steeped in the rigorously detailed and empirical tradition of German historical thought, from which base he began his theorizing in the field of economic capitalism, and from which there emerged evidences of a marked trend of historical relativity and eventually, after a period of retirement, a new orientation of thought. All of this is sketched briefly by the author preparatory to a more extended treatment of Weber's later investigations. These investigations of the subject furnish Parsons with the material pertinent to the theme of his discussion in Part III, under the title of "The Emergence of a Voluntaristic Theory of Action from the Idealistic Tradition."

Weber's reorientation is represented as having taken three main directions: "first an empirical concentration on a particular historical-social phenomenon—'modern capitalism'; second a new anti-Marxian interpretation of it and its genesis, which ultimately issued in an analytical sociological theory; and third a methodological basis for the latter which developed parallel with it." Each of these provides the subject matter extensively discussed in Chapters XV, XVI, and XVII, respectively. Passing over the largely descriptive and explanatory treatment of religion and capitalism in Chapter XV, the author's main interest seems to center upon Weber's methodology and his theoretical system, which are so competently treated in the two succeeding chapters. As in his handling of the systematic theories of Marshall, Pareto and Durkheim, Parsons is here analyzing Weber's abstract and logical formulations "in the context of both his methodological and his empirical work," and fitting them into the general framework of the structure of actional systems.

In Part IV, Parsons draws the threads of

his discussion together and reaches his conclusions, which are neatly arrived at and which carry conviction. Here are set forth the studied results, empirically reached, of a painstaking investigation in the fields of sociological theory and methodology, which sets a new high level of achievement. The book as a whole presents the development of a system, clearly identified, distinct from other

systems of social theory, and one that is bound to attract and hold the interest and stimulate the research activities of social scientists for years to come. It should be noted, also, that from this work sociology emerges as "a special analytical science," a rôle somewhat novel for it when viewed in terms of the generally prevailing American tradition.

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE DEPRESSION

The thirteen monographs, reviewed briefly below, comprise the series of Studies in the Social Aspects of the Depression prepared under the direction of the Committee on Studies in Social Aspects of the Depression of the Social Science Research Council, which stimulated and sponsored the series. Since no social institution or human activity was left untouched by the depression of the early 1930's, a selection was necessary. "The final selection was made by the Committee from a larger number of proposed subjects, on the basis of social importance and available personnel," and included crime, education, the family, internal migration, minority peoples, recreation, religion, rural life, consumption, health, reading, relief policies, and social work. "A common goal without rigidity in procedure was secured by requesting each author to examine critically the literature on the depression for the purpose of locating existing data and interpretations already reasonably well established, of discovering the more serious inadequacies in information, and of formulating research problems feasible for study." (Foreword by the Committee)

It had originally been the hope of the editors of *Social Forces* to secure a re-

viewer, competent and willing to undertake the series, but a distribution of the bulletins among an accessible group, each of whom agreed to be responsible for one or more of the studies within his particular fields of interest, later proved more feasible. Although it was recognized that justice could not be done, in the space allotted, to any of these valuable monographs, it seemed fairer to the authors, as well as more helpful to the readers, to carry a brief comment on each one rather than a detailed review of only one or two, especially since all are of importance and merit.

With the exception of Dr. Joseph J. Spengler of Duke University, all the reviewers are members of the faculty of the University of North Carolina.

Paper bound copies of these Memoranda, published in 1937, can be secured from the Social Science Research Council for \$1.00 each.—K. J.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON CRIME IN THE DEPRESSION.
By Thorsten Sellin. Bulletin 27. 133 pp.

The monograph on crime centers on the effects of economic crises. The substantive criminal law is viewed as adding, subtracting, re-defining, and making displacements within its offense categories.

Criminal law has probably grown in the depression through socio-economic welfare legislation; federal law has extended into what was earlier within state jurisdiction. Two of the six chapters are given to crime and economic fluctuations with considerable discussion of Euro-American opinion and research. In the United States within recent years research has been accumulating in which the variety of indexes of economic change discourages reliable comparisons except, perhaps, for offenses against property. Also, in the early 1930's few dependable studies were made. Because of numerous variables in administrative practices, research should depend on specific indexes of offenses reportable or detectable rather than upon taking all arrests. Professor Sellin believes the best indexes are "crimes known to the police." Administrative agencies such as police, courts, penal departments, legal aid societies, and various social agencies can through their records provide valuable research data. The last chapter on "Next Steps in Research" proposes eight hypotheses with fifty-nine questions or suggestions pertinent to further research on crime in economic crises.

LEE M. BROOKS

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON EDUCATION IN THE DEPRESSION. By The Educational Policies Commission. Bulletin 28. 166 pp.

This document, prepared under the direction of the Committee on Studies in Social Aspects of the Depression, by the Educational Policies Commission, of the National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators, is one of the monographs sponsored by the Council to encourage the study of the effects of the depression on education and other social agencies and conditions. The present study deals entirely with education,

while others deal with the family, health, recreation, social work, religion, rural life, relief policy, practice, reading habits, crime, mobility of population, minority peoples and other subjects.

In this memorandum appears a discussion of historical and comparative problems, the theory and philosophy of education, student personnel, staff personnel, materials of instruction, organization and administration, the fiscal aspects of education, and problems in professional and scientific activities. Directed in large part by Professor J. B. Sears, of Stanford University, the volume contains much useful information and interpretation of the function of education during emergencies in a democratic society.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON THE FAMILY IN THE DEPRESSION. By Samuel A. Stouffer and Paul F. Lazarsfeld with the assistance of A. J. Jaffe. Bulletin 29. 221 pp.

The authors of this monograph deserve commendation for the very matters on which they anticipated criticism, i.e., for giving space to questions of a socio-psychological nature, on the one hand, and to problems which can be rather neatly treated by statistical methods, on the other. Where the nature of the problem and the data available warrant, they excel in wringing the utmost from statistical analysis and stating results with precision. Where this is not possible, they have no hesitancy in boldly formulating hypotheses to be confirmed or rejected by further quantitative research, or if this is not feasible, to be clarified by non-quantitative methods.

With this elimination of the dichotomy into which those on both sides have divided research on the family, the authors transcend their assigned task. Not only do they cover adequately the sum-

marization of data available and work done, but they synthesize in a new fashion the content and point out the methods for development of research on the family in general. There is nothing haphazard or hodge-podge in their combination of the quantitative and the qualitative. An appendix on the logic of generalization in family case studies faces directly what is probably the outstanding problem in research in the family—the scientific use of the case study. This has methodological value for other areas of social research just as the content of the body of the monograph goes beyond the relationship of economic depression to the family.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON INTERNAL MIGRATION IN THE DEPRESSION. By Warren S. Thompson. Bulletin 30. 82 pp.

While the author's primary purpose is to survey ideas and facts pertaining to depression migration, and to discover gaps in our knowledge, he treats his subject against the background of American internal migration in general, and indicates both what materials are now available for the study of internal migration, and what additional materials are needed. One chapter is devoted to general aspects of migration, one to depression migration, and one to methodological problems and to factors influencing migration. Consideration is given to data available and to data needed in all chapters. An index and a fourteen page bibliography are appended.

In his treatment of findings relative to internal migration in the United States the author accepts the conclusion of Goodrich that *laissez faire* migratory tendencies fall far short of achieving an ideal distribution of the American population, and that a partial redistribution of

the American population would increase its welfare appreciably. Dr. Thompson indicates, too, that depression migration must be studied in relation to normal migration, and that much additional material must be made available before a first rate study of internal migration can be made.

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON MINORITY PEOPLES IN THE DEPRESSION. By Donald Young. Bulletin 31. 252 pp.

In this volume Dr. Young has done a very neat job of surveying the field of minority-group studies, pointing out weaknesses in existing studies, indicating the difficulties inherent in the attempt to determine whether changes in a particular minority group are due to the depression or not, suggesting dozens of problems which should be attacked and possible methods of studying some of them.

In the opening chapter Dr. Young discusses "Minorities as a Field for Research," making a plea for projects which involve something more than "the counting of selected items in a selected area." He then discusses the field under the following general topics with appropriate sub-topics: Social Stratification (14 pp.), Distribution (29 pp.), Economic Life (73 pp.), Government and Politics (42 pp.), Selected Problems of Cultural Disparity (48 pp.).

"It may be inferred with confidence," concludes the author, "that the most significant influence of the depression on all American minority peoples, as minority peoples, has been through its net effect on the processes of acculturation. Whether this net influence may ultimately be found to be one of retardation or of acceleration cannot now be said."

GUY B. JOHNSON

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON RECREATION IN THE DEPRESSION. By Jesse F. Steiner. Bulletin 32. 116 pp.

The field of recreation and leisure time activities has reached the stage of research. Science, industry, and technology have aided to create the situation and definite sources of the federal government have added impetus to opportunities and focused attention on problems. Thus there has been created a growing demand for a better understanding of the varied aspects and scope of the field along with the social and psychological processes involved. In this *Research Memorandum* the writer has contributed not only a picture of the status of recreation in the depression period but a powerful challenge to the potentialities of the field through its need for study and research.

The *Memorandum* introduces the reader to recreational research—its problems, trends, and sources—and indicates the recent expansion of leisure with its changing emphases and patterns. Attention is given to the government's stimulation of the recreational program and facilities through community organization. Recreation as a business enterprise is discussed and the *Memorandum* ends with a challenge to recreation as it faces the future.

The field must know more about itself—its why's and wherefore's, its possibilities and limitations, facts and values, and definite appraisals of its social, psychological, moral, and physical opportunities. All of this is essential for future growth through proper social planning. The *Memorandum* is most stimulating in this direction and it will be interesting to note the progress made in the field of research through the coming years.

HAROLD D. MEYER

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON RELIGION IN THE DEPRESSION. By Samuel C. Kincheloe. Bulletin 33. 158 pp.

With much caution in hypotheses, with even more care in conclusions, the monograph on religion like others in the series, raises more questions than it answers. Its six chapters and three appendices deal with church membership, attendance, finance, the clergy, secular trends, the "message," and religious activities locally and regionally. Trends are noted; changes are analyzed. Finance and the "message" are emphasized as to plight and prospect. Membership changes cannot be clearly delineated; denominations vary in their listing and reporting. The church seems to have slipped in recent years in several ways: benevolences, doctrinal aspects, and its independence of the socio-economic currents. While the effects of the depression are too varied for generalization, the reader senses that the church has suffered more seriously than can be explicitly set forth. The memorandum offers some interesting projects for research.

LEE M. BROOKS

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON RURAL LIFE IN THE DEPRESSION. By Dwight Sanderson. Bulletin 34. 169 pp.

This monograph is one of thirteen studies sponsored by the Social Science Research Council to stimulate the study of depression effects on various social institutions. To obtain a preliminary orientation Dr. Sanderson wrote letters to about one hundred leaders in the rural social field, most of whom responded. The report is a compilation of ideas and data obtained from these persons and from research reports made during the last few years. Much of it is taken from *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, by Brunner and Lorge. The report is divided into ten chapters on topics or problems

that the leading authorities felt to be of especial significance in revealing the effects of the depression on rural life. The more important topics are: rural population composition and movements; social corollaries of agricultural readjustment problems; status and stratification of farmers; rural youth problems; effects of depression on rural institutions and rural services; attitudes towards the future of agriculture; and the effects on rural attitudes and culture.

It is not feasible to attempt to outline the large number of findings in this report. The author has covered the major researches and has boiled down the findings. He also points out the problems in need of additional research in connection with each topic, and emphasizes the need for continuing research over a period of years patterned along the line of village studies by Brunner and Kolb.

The author is not able to conclude how much recent changes may be attributed to the depression and how much would have occurred in normal times. He points out a vast array of significant trends and changes in rural social life which the reader will assume are largely products of the depression, but in the final chapter of concluding remarks he states that "In our survey of what has happened to the social aspects of rural life during the depression years, we have found little evidence of any occurrences which will necessarily permanently affect basic rural patterns." It is difficult to accept this statement after having read the report, which is well worth careful study. The reader can get a good summary of a vast amount of research work in a compact volume.

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CONSUMPTION IN THE DEPRESSION. By Roland S. Vaile assisted by Helen G. Canoyer. Bulletin 35. 86 pp.

This 86-page pamphlet outlines the research done and needed to determine the effects of the great depression of 1930-36 on the consumption habits of the American people, both as to the immediate adjustments during the depression and the more enduring changes effected. It views the problem very broadly, that is, as including effects on money expenditures, budgeting habits, the production of goods for use, and the nature and effects of the various agencies for the guidance and control of consumption.

After a survey of the nature and scope of this field of research some of the more important studies and their chief findings are described. These include studies of national production, of distribution of paid-out income, of year-to-year changes in volume of particular types of goods purchased, of changes in recreational activities and of expenditure patterns of families at different income levels, and of public services as a part of income.

Among the research projects suggested in the last part are the development and use of techniques (1) for distinguishing and measuring real income as distinct from (a) money income, (b) costs of production, and (c) investment; (2) for distinguishing production for home use from consumption; and (3) for evaluating the quality of goods purchased relative to price paid and the social factors in variations thereof. Important suggestions for more accurate studies of savings are also offered. Every student or agency interested in making real contributions in this field should give all these suggestions careful consideration in the planning of research projects.

FRANCIS S. WILDER

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HEALTH IN THE DEPRESSION. By Selwyn D. Collins and Clark Tibbitts, and Assistants. Bulletin 36. 192 pp.

Limited to a consideration of health in the United States, the memorandum comprehends many details and changes in methods of prevention, control, and cure, and the methodology of studying them. Unemployment, poverty, illness, and unemployability interweave themselves with special meaning in an economic depression. Health is dealt with in all its major, and most of its minor aspects. "What the recent depression may have done to health is not known." Harmonizing with the other monographs, conclusions are played softly. Methods of gaining wider, deeper knowledge are stressed. For example, census tract data and vital statistics are utilizable especially for infant, maternal, and general mortality. Morbidity can be studied through insurance, school, and hospital records for itself as well as with respect to employment. Some data are extremely hard to measure,—nutritional status for example,—while accident figures are more easily secured and measured. Some four-score studies are suggested in various phases of mortality and morbidity; nutrition; occupational environment; prevention of illness; and medical care.

LEE M. BROOKS

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF READING IN THE DEPRESSION. By Douglas Waples. Bulletin 37. 220 pp.

The scope of the problem is not sharply defined, alternating between reading in the sense of what we might call literacy in action and the more popular sense of reading as distinguished from systematic study and research. The broader problem, impossible to treat in a brief memorandum yet the more significant, of course,

from the standpoint of research in the social sciences, is virtually as wide as modern civilization itself considered, with one writer, as a *Buch und Lesen Kultur*. The narrower problem, of more direct interest from the standpoint of libraries and the one on which attention centers in this study, concerns the social uses and implications of general reading and existing reading facilities.

Reading is described as involving three major elements: the material read, the source from which the reader obtains what he reads, and the reader himself. Proceeding on the basis of this analysis, the author describes, largely with the aid of previous studies several of which are his own, the changes which have taken place during the depression in the publication of books, magazines, newspapers and other printed materials; in the number, stock and administration of major distributing agencies; and in the interests and attitudes of the readers themselves. As his contribution to the larger problem, the author calls attention repeatedly to the limited data available and, in a separate chapter, stresses the importance of reading as a field for research. "The time is ripe," he says, "for the several social sciences to pool their interests in a fuller knowledge of reading . . ."

CARL M. WHITE

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIEF POLICIES IN THE DEPRESSION. By R. Clyde White and Mary K. White. Bulletin 38. 173 pp.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON SOCIAL WORK IN THE DEPRESSION. By F. Stuart Chapin and Stuart A. Queen. Bulletin 39. 134 pp.

These two monographs may well be considered together. Indeed the authors, themselves, have recognized and make mention of the close interrelationship and inevitable overlapping of relief and social

work. In particular, Dr. Chapin and Dr. Queen, in their bulletin, have made specific reference to the research memoranda on relief, health, minority peoples, the family, crime, education, and recreation. This in itself is an interesting example of the difficulties encountered in defining and delimiting a problem in social research, and in trying to isolate certain factors for research and study rather than securing perspective on the problem as a whole. The authors of both monographs are also aware that the data to be analyzed will inevitably be both quantitative and non-quantitative. White and White recognize this when they mention specifically that, although as far as possible the projects suggested are those "which lend themselves to statistical analysis, many important problems require other types of analysis" of a non-statistical nature, while Chapin and Queen are conscious of this aspect in their discussion of the possibilities of scientific research in the field of social work.

In both studies, the questions asked and the problems suggested for investigation are, on the whole, too big to be handled on a national basis but might well be adapted to a regional program. There is too great diversity among regions and agencies to draw general conclusions, and White and White aptly raise the question of geographical distribution. Here then is another brief for American regionalism. In these fields, particularly social work, one expects a touch of urbanism but the urban flavor, as well as the regional leanings toward the Northeast and the Middle States, may possibly be more apparent than real.

Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Relief Policies in the Depression deserves special commendation because of the logical clear-cut way the authors have attacked their problem. They have begun by asking two questions: (1) What have been the social effects of relief policies during the depression? (2) Are these the social effects which we should like to have result from relief policies in the future? "The second question, involving values, is of course not in itself a scientific question. But its answer is the goal toward which study of the first question leads us." Again, the questions asked are not exhaustive but illustrative. Continuing, White and White outline the framework of relief policies, sources of data, note on method, organization for research. The following twelve chapters treat various phases of relief under policies, research problems, and, wherever possible, illustrations of method.

If in the *Research Memorandum on Social Work in the Depression*, it appears that the approach, the problems, and the projects are not set down in so definite and clear-cut fashion as in the relief bulletin, it should be remembered that Chapin and Queen had a less clearly defined field and one in which much preliminary work remains to be done before we have adequate means of evaluating the results. Helpful and significant is the concern of these authors with not only what to investigate but how to do it, together with their discussion of the possibility of scientific research in social work and their suggestive techniques for setting up a scientific experiment in this field.

KATHARINE JOCHER

ECONOMICS

ALBERT S. KEISTER

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina

GENERAL ECONOMICS. By Broadus Mitchell. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937. 772 pp. \$3.00.

PROBLEMS IN ECONOMICS. By W. H. Kiekhofer. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937. 218 pp. \$1.10.

ELEMENTS OF MODERN ECONOMICS. By A. L. Meyers. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. 363 pp. \$3.00.

THE BACKWARD ART OF SPENDING MONEY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Wesley C. Mitchell. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1937. 421 pp. \$3.00.

Two features make Broadus Mitchell's *General Economics* unique: the author's stand for a radical reconstruction of society toward socialism and brief biographical sketches of many of the eminent figures in the history of economic thought. Each is only partially successful. As to the first, the author sticks quite close to the conservative, orthodox position on certain vital phases of economic theory, e.g. his value theory (marginality) and his theory of interest on capital, only to break abruptly and completely with orthodox theory at other places. Chapter six on "Value" might have been written by any member in good standing of the orthodox Austrian school, while chapters seven and eight on "Price" are miles away from and much more realistic than the "Value" discussion. The author's Quantity Theory of Money (Chapter 10) is the orthodox man speaking, one who carefully avoids some disturbing questions, such as—"Why has the price level remained practically stationary during the past four or five years while the quantity of gold and bank reserves have increased enormously?" It is a different man who speaks later for the single tax (pp. 395-402) and for socialism (Chapter 28).

As to the second unique feature, it may be said that the biographical sketches are for the most part interesting and well done. Sometimes they seem to break the flow of the argument and divert attention from the main point while at other times they skillfully reenforce the text. The reviewer wonders, however, why the author gives nine pages to Robert Owen and only two to David Ricardo; six to Francis Place and only three to John Stuart Mill.

Some critics may take the author to task for coming out in favor of a socialistic organization of society instead of maintaining an impartial, "scientific" attitude—which raises the whole question of the "proper" function of the teacher and the text book. The reviewer has no quarrel with Mitchell for taking his stand. He does wish that since Mitchell takes his stand for socialism he had faced squarely the central problem of a socialistic economy—how prices would be fixed and productive resources allocated.

Kiekhofer's *Problems in Economics* is designed primarily to accompany his text in *Principles*. The questions are meant to develop thought rather than memory. Most chapters have first a brief outline of the corresponding chapter in the *Principles*, then a Group A set of questions testing mastery of principles, followed by a Group B list of statements to be commented upon by the student as true, false, or inadequate, and finally a list of suggested further readings. There are enough questions and statements on each topic so that an instructor can select to suit the intellectual caliber of his students.

The whole job is competently done. It is to be regretted that the student in order to get both principles and problems should be compelled to put out \$5.10.

Professor Meyers believes that elementary students should be introduced without delay or apology to the recently developed theory of monopolistic competition. Accordingly, after twenty pages of ground-breaking in the form of elementary concepts, he proceeds to sow broadcast through the next 150 pages charts, diagrams, curves, mathematical symbols and text exposition of recent value theory that makes one wonder what supermen the Colgate sophomores must be. For the author states in the preface that "after careful experimental classroom use of this text, I am convinced that the use of the technique of monopolistic competition, wherever applicable, not only permits a closer approach to reality and a sounder theoretical analysis but also makes the presentation of economic principles easier for the student to grasp." Not that all of this material is "over the heads" of undergraduates; much of it isn't. And the author does write with a clear and interesting style. It is rather a question of whether beginning students are helped or befuddled by changing demand curves with elastic and inelastic supply curves superimposed on them. Perhaps the student can overlook the pictures.

To complete the theoretical analysis the author has the usual chapters on wages, interest, rent, and profits. In the last 100 pages he treats banking, money,

international trade, foreign exchange, unemployment and business cycles, which is a larger order than anyone can fill.

Wesley Mitchell is one of a few American economists who have contributed notably to the development of economic thought and research. The only full-bodied book he ever wrote, *Business Cycles*, was a pioneer, blazing the trail for a host of migratory followers who have cultivated zealously the domain.

The book under review consists of 17 essays written over a period of 25 years. They run the gamut from the semi-sociological *The Backward Art of Spending Money* to the rather profound analysis of *The Prospects of Economics*. They range back to Ricardo and Jeremy Bentham, over on the continent to Wieser and Sombart and return here to Veblen and Commons. They show their author to be a master mind in his own field, at home in related fields, especially psychology and statistics, and able to write with vigor and clarity. These essays prove that it is possible for a man to be thoroughly scholarly and scientific and also to be devoted to the common welfare—to be a price economist and a welfare economist at the same time. Richly deserved have been the many honors conferred on and the positions held by the author. The fact that here we have one of the foremost economists of the day who has written numerous essays but has never written a text book means something. Just what I do not know.

YOUTH SUBMITS TO RESEARCH

HAROLD D. MEYER

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HOW FARE AMERICAN YOUTH? By Homer P. Rainey and others. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. 186 pp. \$1.50.

YOUTH EDUCATION TODAY. By the American Association of School Administrators. Sixteenth Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1938. 505 pp. \$2.00. Illustrated.

YOUTH TELL THEIR STORY. By Howard M. Bell. A study conducted for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1938. 271 pp. \$1.50. Illustrated.

YOUTH IN THE WORLD OF TODAY. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1938. 40 pp. \$0.10.

RURAL YOUTH ON RELIEF. By Bruce L. Melvin. Research Monograph XI. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1937. 112 pp. Illustrated.

A STUDY OF YOUTH NEEDS AND SERVICES IN DALLAS, TEXAS. By Jack Robertson. Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission, 1938. 224 pp.

SURVEYS OF YOUTH. By D. L. Harley. American Council of Education Study, Series 4, Volume 1, No. 1. Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission, 1937. 106 pp. \$0.50.

YOUTH LEADERS DIGEST. Vol. 1. A monthly magazine edited by Ben Solomon. Peekskill, N. Y.: Youth Service Inc., 1938.

Under the leadership of the American Youth Commission and with able assistance from many supplementary sources and agencies, the youth of this nation are being given a thorough examination by the use of all the known methods of research. Within a decade the youth of today, then entering into adulthood, will have a picture of themselves, the type of which no former generation could bring forth from the albums.

Youth has always been a subject of study and concern, but never have we witnessed such a wave of interest nor has action been so effective. World events in which we see youth horded in mass by

trends of totalitarian processes and find them victims of economic and social forces of depression and confusion in the changing concepts of democracy demand that we center concerted action on youth—their present status and their future outlook.

The facts obtained up to this time offer a mingled picture of impacts denoting alarming conditions, normal status, and exceedingly hopeful potentialities. The broad problem of adjusting youth to their place in contemporary society and the responsibility of society to facilitate adjustments and aid in transitions appear to be the essential challenges of the numerous studies.

When the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science issued its masterful November 1938 number on the "Prospect for Youth," it opened the doors for a continuous flow of material in this field by the focus of attention upon the problems of youth and the appeal for an intelligent consideration of these problems.

Under the leadership of the American Youth Commission, Homer P. Rainey, Director of the Commission, with the collaboration of Arthur L. Brandon, M. M. Chambers, D. L. Harley, Harry H. Moore, and Bruce L. Melvin presented another book that vividly portrayed the youth problem in the volume *How Fare American Youth?* The book is not a declaration of policy nor is it a report of facts, but it was prepared for the Commission to define the problems of youth and to formulate a program. The Commission has taken the attitude that before well planned programs can function, it

must know as much as possible about the problems of youth. The book brings forth an analysis and a statement of the problems through facts relating to individual youth along with economic, educational, recreational, and health aspects. Emphasis is also given to the plight of rural youth with a special analysis on the Negro youth. The work affords a challenge to research and study. Every page indicates needs and opportunities. No doubt the Commission will formulate its future program from the facts in this volume. It is recommended to those who wish to obtain a clear and forceful picture of the problem facing the youth of this nation.

The Yearbooks on the American Association of School Administrators are always of value to the educational world. Each year a special topic is chosen and for 1938 the subject was *Youth Education Today*. The work is primarily a review of facts regarding youth in contemporary society and offers many helpful suggestions on what might be considered the "next step," particularly those to be taken by educators. Emphasis is given to the process of creative citizenship, education for leisure, and the guidance program. An attempt is made to indicate ways and means of unifying and coordinating the many influences affecting youth. The problem of leadership is also presented with an analysis of qualifications and evaluation.

The report carries with it an optimistic note offering a hopeful theme, but in no sense a complete pattern of remedy. The material in the volume, of necessity, must be applied to individual situations and meet individual youth needs. The number will remain as a guide for the school world throughout the next decade. It should certainly be on the desk of every high school principal and school superin-

tendent in the nation, and any teacher who is thinking through the problems of youth today will find it stimulating.

Perhaps the most thorough research that has ever been done on youth is the study made by Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*. Taking the young people in Maryland between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, the author makes a comprehensive study of conditions and attitudes affecting them. This work is one of the major accomplishments of the American Youth Commission up to date. It will be followed by many studies on a similar plan and those yet to be made should prove of increasing worth as experience is gained. The research attempted to ascertain true conditions, and obtained firsthand information and opinions from more than 13,000 individuals. Every possible protection was used to assure the reliability of data, and care was utilized in the preparation of the schedule of questions and the manual of instructions. All of the interviewers were given a special course of training before undertaking the work. Numerous sample techniques were utilized to follow the standards that were adopted for the study. The work brings into sharp relief certain social problems that must be faced by youth. Among the most important are: the equalizing of adult opportunities, finding employment for youth, urgency of economic security, vocational guidance, lack of appropriate and adequate vocational training, the need for reorganization in secondary education, leisure time, health education, including social and personal hygiene, citizenship, and community planning for youth. From these facts we should be able to construct a program for the future that will tend to eliminate or ameliorate the negative forces of these problems. This study is one of the most stimulating pic-

tures of youth ever presented in the United States and should go a long way in setting a pattern for future planning and growth.

Following the Maryland study the Public Affairs Committee had Maxwell S. Stewart prepare a small booklet popularizing the problems of youth. The pamphlet was prepared in coöperation with the staff of the American Youth Commission. Using a few case studies which brought forth pertinent facts regarding youth, the bulletin then applied the specific problems to general situations. Youth in school, youth at work, youth at play, marriage, home and society, youth in action, along with suggested remedies offer the content of the little booklet. Written in an interesting style and with the facts illustrated by charts, the story of *Youth in the World of Today* offers to the youth leader a factual approach to contemporary studies.

The Works Progress Administration through its Division of Social Research has brought forth a volume *Rural Youth on Relief* by Bruce L. Melvin. The purpose is to provide information concerning the problem of rural youth on relief and to offer suggestions that may be used to develop a future program in behalf of youth. Mr. Melvin definitely correlates the youth problem with the agricultural situation. Problems of soil fertility, overcrowding of the land, systems of farming, along with many other agricultural aspects, have made their impact on youth and created the problems stated. It is believed that when the economic opportunities and conditions in our agricultural areas are benefited, youth will also gain. The idea of simply putting rural youth on relief is not considered as the policy. The challenge should be to build a program that will prevent this need in the future. The report is full of sound statistical interpretations, effective charts,

and attractive photographs. Many of the photographs tell very vivid stories. Emphasis in the study is made on personal characteristics of rural youth, their educational status, their occupations, and other individual points of interest. Emphasis is also given to the youth programs of many emergency agencies now working through the federal government, especially the National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corp, the Works Progress Administration, and the Resettlement Administration. The author concludes that before any fundamental change in the conditions and prospects of rural youth can be brought about, there should be coöordinated plans both for such permanent institutions as the extension service, the church, and the schools along with the agencies developed by the federal government during the depression.

Following the Maryland study the American Youth Commission started similar studies in all parts of the country. Recently *A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas* by Jack Robertson has been published. The report is a study of programs of coöordinating agencies dealing with the problems of the care and education of youth in this southwest city. It is made after personal interviews with about 5000 youths and offers specific recommendations for meeting the needs of the youth population in Dallas. The emphasis of the study is in the suggested program. Having obtained a clear picture of the situation through a statistical study and a practical survey, Dallas now possesses an opportunity to work out a long-range program for its youth that should be a model for other cities in the United States. It is sincerely hoped that the study will not merely prove to be "another study," but will afford the opportunity for a practical demonstration of the value of such a study

through direct application to specific needs.

For one who is interested in knowing the many surveys and studies which have been made on the subject of youth, *Surveys of Youth* by D. L. Harley offers the material. The American Council of Education in this volume has made a thorough study of all of the surveys relating to youth, and the work is a bibliography of this material. It is of special value to graduate schools who desire to guide the student into proper thesis subject-matter. The bibliography indicates not only the studies that have been completed but how the study was worked out, where copies can be obtained, and offers a condensed description regarding each one.

This fall a new magazine appeared called *Youth Leaders Digest*. It is printed by Youth Service Incorporated, and edited by Mr. Ben Solomon. The magazine follows the general structure of *Readers Digest*. Published every month with the

exception of August and September, the ten volumes will bring to the busy youth leader a composite picture of worth while information. With the growing emphasis in this field the leader of youth will find it more and more difficult to keep up with current information. A magazine of this type, under expert and authoritative guidance and where material is presented in compact form, will prove of genuine value not only to youth leadership but to youth itself.

Thus we see youth is submitting itself to research. Within the next year there will be many volumes similar to those of the Maryland and Dallas studies. Surely it is to be hoped that from this storehouse of information society will have obtained a clear picture of the problems of youth and should be well on the way in a constructive effort to remedy those forces of a negative nature and richly adjust those that will bring to youth a better prospect of security along all lines of endeavor.

THE NEWSPAPER AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

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THE DAILY NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA. By Alfred McClung Lee. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. 797 pp. \$3.50.

NEWSPAPERS AND THE NEWS. By Susan M. Kingsbury, Hornell Hart and Associates. Bryn Mawr College Series in Social Economy, Number 1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937. 238 pp. \$2.50.

THE SUNPAPERS OF BALTIMORE, 1837-1937. By Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H. L. Mencken, and Hamilton Owens. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937. 430 pp. \$3.75.

35,000 DAYS IN TEXAS: A HISTORY OF THE DALLAS NEWS AND ITS FORBEARS. By Sam Acheson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 337 pp. \$2.50.

Perhaps no social instrumentality has received more praise, or more denunciation, than the press. It has been hailed as the bulwark of all our liberties and as the seducer of our morality. Neither charge could be wholly true, of course. But the vehemence of our thought indicates that beyond doubt the press is one of the most potent factors in American culture and is, therefore, badly in need of critical and objective study. Though none of the books here reviewed meets this need, they all make important con-

tributions of one sort or another in that direction and one, that of Alfred M. Lee, takes a giant stride toward an understanding of the most important portion of the press, the daily newspaper.

Professor Lee has here given an excellent case study of one of our most important social institutions. The various phases of the institution are taken up separately and discussed thoroughly, but always with the idea apparent that no particular phase of newspaper publishing, or even the industry as a whole, can be seen as divorced from the other phases of the industry or the general situation of the nation. The present day newspaper, therefore, is seen as a resultant of broad social evolution; "... the blind forces of society and not appreciably the creative urge of a few Greeleys, Danas, and Hearsts mold the future of the industry" as they have formed its history. The process, he infers, is one in which conscious effort of man is of little avail, being principally made up of the incidence of mechanical inventions and, to a considerably less extent, changes in the folkways and mores on an institution still wax-like enough to receive impressions but firm enough to resist molding to a degree which accounts for a large amount of cultural lag in the activities less directly connected with the accounting department, especially in the news rooms. Thus, he says, the publishers have spent great effort to maintain the "professional" attitude among reporters in the belief that thereby these workers will align themselves against the "proletarian" employees in the mechanical departments. This use of an acceptable label is used with reverse intent, however, in the case of the lads who sell or deliver newspapers. Here the label of "little merchant" is employed in an effort to secure higher standing for the "newsie" of yesteryear—

and also so that the publisher may escape legal liability for the acts and accidents of these workers.

The great problem of the daily press, Professor Lee sees in the increasing stabilization through monopoly or near monopoly, aided by the labor unions in squeezing out small units through demands for wages impossible for such publications. Both, he thinks, act in ignorance of the long time effect of their policy. Thus, if asked about the effects of a projected merger on the industry "The publisher talks about his vested interests, the fact that he has to 'meet payrolls,' and academic idealism. The publisher *knows* that he will make more money if he makes his venture less subject to competition. He knows that he represents and will continue to Fight for the Best Interests of The People. He can trust The People to listen to Reason. The People appreciate the Rights they assured to themselves in the Constitution of the United States." (p. 704.)

Though the book as a whole is written in a style which must be described as "academic," there is one tip which is certainly worth passing on to the prospective reader. Never fail to read the last sentence of a paragraph. With an utterly disarming and naive expression it is likely to conceal a rapier-thrust which neatly disposes of the argument just reported.

Susan M. Kingsbury, Hornell Hart, and their associates, undertake to evaluate the newspaper ethics of the nation through thoroughly acceptable scientific means in their volume, *Newspapers and the News*, a Bryn Mawr study in social economy. To do this they have devised "a new research instrument," the "Spectrum of News Interests" which classifies any given news story into one of 23 categories, ranging from "socialization" as a positive term to "sensationalism" as their term of

opprobrium. This is a very interesting instrument. Top rank is given to stories of business, which are ranked plus 41 in value, while public crime and morals, for instance, is given a rank of plus four and weddings and "society" news is given a rank of minus 39, just above stories of sex and of "money-sex." The underlying theory seems to be that anything which is exciting should be given a low ranking in terms of its socialization element, and vice versa. Some argument might develop as to the correctness of this fundamental assumption, it would seem. However, this tool is then made the basis for various studies—news interest, bias, headline index of bias, ethics of journalism, etc. Obviously these must stand or fall according to the fundamental soundness of the instrument used.

The second part of the book is devoted to short summaries of previous studies of the social aspects of newspapers. This gives the book a very real value as a source in addition to its value as a case study in social experimentation in research technique.

In *The Sunpapers of Baltimore* four thoroughly competent writers tell the story of one of the outstanding journalistic ventures in American history. H. L. Mencken acted as editor and his characteristic style overshadows those of Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, and Hamilton Owens; but such men as these could not have been eclipsed, even had the brilliant Mr. Mencken attempted anything so brash. The result is an excellent piece of writing. As a history of a newspaper the volume is most excellent. As the story of the social institution, which the *Sun* undoubtedly is in its area, one might wish for more emphasis on the manner in which events were handled and the relationships of the journal with its subscribers. How-

ever, this is not to say that the history of Baltimore and that general section of the nation is not well portrayed in this book. It is. For after all, newspapers are forced to write about and otherwise react to the things which happen and the things which happen are history. But the emphasis might have been more sociological and would have been more useful to students of society had it been. But the authors, of course, did not start out to write a sociological treatise.

Out in the Southwest a history of the *Dallas News* proudly makes the claim that "The story of the *NEWS* is the story of Texas" with a considerable show of logical and factual support. The history of this newspaper, which with its predecessor and parent in Galveston can boast of being both the oldest newspaper and the oldest business institution in the region, has recently appeared under the title of *35,000 Days in Texas*, by Sam Acheson, of its editorial staff. Although Mr. Acheson is primarily interested in the newspaper, his account of its history necessarily brings in much of the history of the area. This tendency to identify the journal with its area is intensified by the attitude of the writer that the function of the newspaper has never been merely that of recording events, but has included the duty of acting as "scout and guide" to the people of Texas, and especially to those of Dallas. This is shown in numerous incidents related in the account of the struggles of the editors for what they thought right and proper, but particularly so in the stories of the efforts to secure such things as a city plan and the promotion of a state fair. Consciously this newspaper has considered itself one of the important factors in the development of the Southwest. Since the author is a loyal employee of the institution about

which he is writing, it is only to be expected that his portrayal is highly favorable. The book is another excellent case study in the relationship between the

newspaper and its readers and of the reciprocal connection between an institution and the social matrix in which it develops.

UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR PRESIDENTS

EDGAR W. KNIGHT

University of North Carolina

THE RISE OF A UNIVERSITY: THE LATER DAYS OF OLD COLUMBIA COLLEGE. Edited William F. Russell. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. 415 pp. \$3.75.

THE RISE OF A UNIVERSITY: THE UNIVERSITY IN ACTION. Edited by Edward C. Elliott. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. 515 pp. \$3.75.

STANFORD HORIZONS. By Ray Lyman Wilbur. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1936. 165 pp. \$2.00.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY: THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. By Orrin L. Elliott. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937. 624 pp. \$3.00.

An anonymous college president in "Prexy," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* for January, 1938, said:

It is a mystery to most of us college presidents why the public is so interested in us. To those few of us who are a bit pompous this public concern seems quite logical. But most presidents are relatively simple folk, anxious to do a good job on a college campus; to us the public spotlight is often as irritating as it is surprising.

Whatever a college president does seems to have some degree of public interest. If he loses his job special news writers are sent to cover it "adequately." If he loses his driver's license that gets headlines, too. We are asked to endorse everything from newspapers to gasoline. . . . Neilson of Smith once urged a "Be-Kind-to-College-Presidents Week."

This college president went on to say that college presidents are proud of their profession, humble about their abilities, think that the public often expects too much of them, and that they do not want the public to consider them supermen.

Many thousands of words have been written and spoken by college and university presidents in their inaugurals, reports, and occasional speeches and articles. They have written about many subjects and have offered many nostrums for the afflictions of society. Some of the presidents begin to prescribe at once, in their inaugurals, for example, as dangerous as that practice may be. When James Walker was inaugurated president of Harvard in 1853 he said that "next to religion, there is no subject on which there is so much cant as education." A little more than a decade later, when F. P. A. Barnard took over Columbia College, he said that the fundamental principles of a truly liberal education were stated by Aristotle, Seneca, and Quintilian, more clearly stated, he thought, than by "those of the most judicious thinkers of modern times." He also said that there was little that was settled and much that was uncertain about higher education.

Here are four books which deal with higher education in this country, which is now provided in more than 1700 institutions. These institutions enjoy a prestige and have a potential influence in the life of the American people second, perhaps, to no other institutions in the land. This prestige and potential influence are comparable to those of the Church,—the mother of many of the col-

leges and with which many of them are still closely identified—and the State. The presidents of most of these institutions are people of importance and what they say and write is, therefore, important.

The book by Russell deals with the reports of President Barnard from 1864 to 1889 while he served as the tenth president of Columbia College in the City of New York. His reports, just as those of President Butler, given in the volume edited by Elliott, are scholarly interpretations of a variety of higher educational questions. Barnard's reports have been described by James E. Russell, former dean of Teachers College of Columbia, as "unexcelled in the literature of American education. No current problem escaped Barnard's attention and every problem that he discussed was thereafter the easier of solution, because of his comprehensive view and convincing argument."

Barnard discussed preparation for college, scholarship, changes in the curriculum, the elective system, free tuition, size of classes, privileges of professors, athletics, discipline, chapel attendance, the need for professional training of teachers, education as a science, graduate work, the higher education of women, and many other subjects. He had advanced views on the higher education of women at a time when the subject was very unpopular. Intercollegiate athletics did not annoy Barnard as much as such extra-curricular activities have irritated President Butler. Incidentally, it may be noted here that during the past thirty years college and university presidents have probably spoken and written more evils of intercollegiate football than on any other single subject.

The reports of President Butler are among if not indeed the most distinguished educational documents ever writ-

ten by a college or university president. The volume which contains material from his annual reports from 1902 to 1935 shows concern with such general subjects as the university and society, problems of American life and educational policy, undergraduate life, graduate and professional education, the faculty and problems of instruction, university administration, and other problems. President Butler insists that the business of the college is "to prepare for life and not for making a living." In his early reports he deplored emphasis on intercollegiate athletics, and football was abolished at Columbia about 1905. Some of the alumni did not like the abolition of the game but apparently the faculty members were in full sympathy with the action. Later the game was restored and the acquisition of Baker Field enabled the institution to develop football on a large scale; and President Butler and Mayor LaGuardia made happy speeches upon the return of the conquering Columbia team from the Rose Bowl a few years ago.

President Butler's pronouncements on research, on administration, and on academic freedom, are among the wisest and most scholarly statements made on these subjects. In his report for 1924 he said that the word research had come "to be something like the blessed word Mesopotamia." He said that David Garrick, who was a great admirer of George Whitefield's preaching, said that Whitefield's eloquence was so compelling "that he could reduce his hearers to tears merely by uttering the word Mesopotamia." President Butler added that research, which he applauds as very vital, "is used to reduce everyone to silence, acquiescence and appropriation." In his report for 1914 he quoted from one of his professors the definition of educational administration as the doing excellently of things

that should not be done at all. He insisted that the scholar should be absolutely free to teach the subjects within the scope of his field and to publish the results of his scholarly researches in the field of his specialty. But in teaching and in publishing he was expected to teach and to publish as a scholar and as a gentleman.

Stanford Horizons is made up of selected addresses of President Wilbur between 1916 and 1936. The volume includes his inaugural address in 1916, commencement addresses and other speeches and papers at other institutions and before organizations and societies. His article on David Starr Jordan, which appeared in the *Scientific Monthly* in November, 1931, is an excellent statement of the qualities of the great ichthyologist who was so irked by the hideous details of the administration of Stanford, that he said every time he learned the name of a professor or student he forgot the name of a fish. In the commencement address at Stanford in 1933 President Wilbur said, in discussing the confusion of the period, that there was too much "astrology in business, too much buncombe in politics, too much superstition in daily life, too much exaggerated and perverted emotional life." In the same address he told the graduating class that their diplomas were not meal tickets but licenses "to hunt for a job."

The author of *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years* came to the institution at its beginning. He knew all about its "first faltering steps, its childhood diseases and accidents, and the background of its astonishing growth and success." Here may be seen something of the "pathos and romance of Stanford beginnings." Here appear the personality and leadership of Jordan; here may

be seen something of the courage and faith—and also the persistence and dominating quality—of Mrs. Stanford, who had much to do with the management of the institution. She seems to have had much power; and she would not have around a "dangerous man," such as Edward A. Ross, the sociologist.

It is not altogether clear that academic freedom was fully complete at Stanford all the time. The chapter dealing with appointments, removals, and tenure is very revealing. Mr. Stanford had exalted the office of the president in the original arrangements for the organization of the institution. The power given the president of summary removal of professors conflicted in both theory and practice in higher educational matters. President Charles W. Elliott, of Harvard, wrote to President Jordan, of Stanford, September 22, 1905: "What an extremely disagreeable and inexpedient power of dismissal the Stanfords forced on the president of their University! For all I know, it may work well in a railroad; but it will certainly be extremely inconvenient and injurious in a University." The removal of Professor E. A. Ross in November, 1900, and its consequences gave new color to academic freedom. A few years after the dismissal of Ross, President Jordan wrote to a newly elected member of the Board of Trustees: "The condition existing at the University has been improved fifty per cent by the changes, and I shall not hesitate in the future, if occasion arises, to apply the proper remedy at once." Nevertheless Stanford continues to have its troubles. This book is a distinctive "biography of a great educational institution."

THE RURAL SOUTH?

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Works Progress Administration

THE SHARECROPPER. By Charlie May Simon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1937. 247 pp. \$2.50.

I WAS A SHARECROPPER. By Harry Harrison Kroll. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937. 327 pp. \$2.75.

Careful scientific descriptions of poverty and maladjustments within any group of society may have little influence on correcting the evils. The mass of people, the weight of whose opinion finally energizes constructive societal action, usually acquire a large share of their knowledge and impressions of a situation through literary production. Facts about the tenant system of the South have for some time been known. Publications such as *The Human Geography of the South* by Rupert B. Vance and *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation* by T. J. Woolfer, Jr. have well presented the scientific picture of the South's maladjusted agricultural economic organization in which the sharecropper is a victim. These two books reveal the scene in an accurate and careful manner but the facts given are left to speak for themselves. The two books under review are complementary to the scientific description. They are literary productions that reveal the life blood, the process in operation that makes the facts glow with realism. These books fall into the class that appeals to the emotions to correct the evils of the sharecropper system.

The Sharecropper is a novel in which it is claimed that "no living person is referred to," but which the student of conditions recognizes as being an account of actual happenings assembled in story form as though they belonged to the life of one

individual, as well they might. At the opening of the story the reader becomes acquainted with Bill Bradley on the morning of his wedding day. From that point forward the vicissitudes of Bradley, his wife and children and parents are followed. Poverty with its hunger, rags and dilapidated housing are vividly depicted. The ambitions of a young couple to pull themselves out of the class are revealed. Exploitation by the landlord and the landlord's lack of appreciation of the situation of the sharecroppers are realistically portrayed. As though the struggle against the system were not enough the floods of the Mississippi, such as occurred in Arkansas, are shown to have added to destruction. Yet through the help of the Red Cross hunger was appeased. But the hardships of the flood killed the father, the eternal work sent the mother insane to the asylum, and the sister into prostitution. Of intense interest also was the part played by the hero of the story in the formation of The Sharecropper's Union. But with it all the author ends on a note of hope. One must question seriously, is this note an actuality or a pious wish on the part of the author?

I Was a Sharecropper is not the story of a sharecropper but the autobiography of the son of a sharecropper. Standards of living, values, superstitions, hopes, ambitions, thwartings, inhibitions are all vividly presented. In some ways the narrative is a success story that makes the old Alger stories pale into insignificance. Yet were I a teacher of social psychology I would put this book on the "required list" because it is realistic.

Squalor, filth, ugliness, are reflected on

every page. The struggle of Darius, the father, to rise above the class by tramping West Tennessee with a stereopticon and later a moving picture machine on his back reveals the eternal desire to rise out of the slavery and want of the system. Finally, he accepted his fate, that of a sharecropper. The description of the struggles of the mother, brother and sister to throw off the psychological thralldom of the sharecropper attitude is a psycho-analytical portrayal of the inner life of these people. Finally the fact that the author lifted himself by his own bootstraps, though by prodigious efforts, from the strangle hold this system holds on so many thousands at least partially attests the potential accomplishment that these people might reach if given a chance.

AMERICAN REGIONALISM. A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL APPROACH TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION. By Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938. 693 pp. \$5.00. Student edition, \$3.80.

Here in a very broad and comprehensive sense is an orientation to American civilization, a book which might well be used to give students of social science a realistic view of their field. The historical, geographical, and sociological scope makes it of more than passing interest to students in many fields—history, political science, geography, anthropology, economics—as well as sociology.

Beginning Part I with a statement of regionalism as a point of view, the authors define regionalism as a science of regions. Comparing the old sectionalism and the new regionalism, they show that sectionalism has ordinarily meant division, isolation, conflict, whereas regionalism, as they conceive it, involves integration, the region being a part of a larger, meaningful whole. Natural regions based on soil, topography, climate, and natural regions growing out of river valleys of

the United States are outlined and described. Cultural regions of three distinct types are surveyed: (1) metropolitan regionalism of urban-industrial culture involving the city and its hinterland, (2) regions of the rural nation as a phase of the national culture, and (3) literary and aesthetic regionalism growing out of historical factors in American life. A third general kind of region, the group-of-states region, is illustrated by service regions of a governmental and non-governmental character, the writers showing that federal activities have been decentralized, but yet have maintained unity by the regional administrative unit. Similarly, non-governmental organizations have employed regions for administrative purposes, businesses and social and civil organizations being so organized.

They hold that the group-of-states regions can be used to the "best advantage as major regions confining the largest degree of homogeneity in the largest number of indices for the largest number of purposes." They trace developments in the field of regional planning, citing the T. V. A. as the most outstanding example of a regional approach to a group-of-states problem. In this first section of eleven chapters then is presented the rise of geographical, historical, and sociological regionalism in America.

Part II launches into a study of the historical and theoretical aspects of regionalism, tracing the regional implications of each of the disciplines—geography, history, anthropology, economics, politics, and sociology. Approaching each science historically, the authors show how the concepts of the various sciences have all tended toward the incorporation of ideas of a cultural regionalism, and in conclusion suggest that cutting through the folk society of natural

regions and encroaching upon the natural folk society of the rural region characterized by folkways is the newer urban-industrial regionalism of the metropolis with its emphasis, not on native folk culture, but on specialized technique and its interest in developing the technicways which are a product of our highly dynamic, inventive urban civilization.

In Part III, which begins with an attempt to arrive at a measure of American regionalism by the use of various techniques, both subjective and tangible, the authors divide the United States into six large regions—the Middle States, the Northeast, the Southeast, the Far West, the Northwest, and the Southwest. To each of these sections is devoted a brief chapter describing both subjectively and objectively the native folk culture, showing in each case how the folk culture has persisted even affecting in a measure the development of the urban-industrial culture of the metropolitan regions within the area. In the final chapter they state the problem of the persistence of the native folk culture of the region in the face of the expanding influence of a highly changing, urban-industrial civilization. Social problems are discussed primarily in terms of the conflict between the natural elements of the old folk culture and the relatively uncontrollable and unregulated forces of technological culture of the metropolis, showing that the shift of the nation has been from local, natural cultures toward a highly artificial, changing urban culture. The adjustment of American life to this new framework is a vital problem, and requires the adjustment of the cultural heritage to the natural heritage so that the resources of a technological civilization can be utilized more fully for social purposes.

The authors see in regionalism (the science of the region) a technique by

which equilibrium and balance, decentralization and distribution may be realized. Folk-regional society becomes the unit of sociological investigation and is contrasted with the newer state society. The region becomes the social gestalt. Regionalism, they believe, "approximates in itself a methodological approach to scientific social study," looking "both to the explanation and direction of society."

"There is . . . a region and a technique of study of the biologist, the geologist, the geographer, the anthropologist, the economist, the historian, the political scientist. The sociologist's region and regionalism must comprehend the nearest approximation to a synthesis of studies, methods, and concepts, to the end that regionalism may emerge as cultural determinism or 'gestalt' on the one hand and a comprehensive methodological approach on the other."

The study of the work is in itself a liberal education, and one is amazed at the wealth of descriptive detail condensed in one volume. On the whole it is presented in an interesting and readable form, being much less factual and more interpretative than Odum's *Southern Regions*. A bibliography of thirty-three pages and several charts and tables supplement the text.

Chapter One, which is an interpretation of regionalism as a "science of the region or of the culture economy of which the region is the basic unit," "an approach," "a technique," "an economy," "a philosophy," "a key to balance and equilibrium," "a new cultural economy," "a realistic frame of reference," seems confusing to the reader, the term "regionalism" being used indiscriminately to cover a number of widely different concepts. One at points wonders whether regionalism may not be a new creed rather than a new tool. This con-

fusion to the reader is confined to the first chapter chiefly as the tangible application of the concept of regionalism to actual problems seems throughout more convincing than their statement of regionalism as an abstract concept.

The authors make no claim to outlining regions that can be universally accepted or that can be of universal utility. They do, however, outline six large group-of-states regions as being measurable by the greatest number of indices available and as being regions useful for the greatest possible number of purposes.

The book gives a bird's eye view of American geography, American culture, and American history, but it is a bird's eye view aimed at describing the development of social processes, the growth of an integrated folk culture in the face of the disturbing competitive influences of an emerging metropolitan culture, the struggle of the folkways of a rural people with the technicways of an expanding urban people.

PAUL H. LANDIS

The State College of Washington

WOMEN'S LIFE AND WORK IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

By Julia Cherry Spruill. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. 426 pp. \$5.00. Illustrated.

Jackets on books today often present difficult problems for reviewers. Presumably summaries and appraisals, they commonly set a pace for commentators other than publishers which makes jacket-designers overwhelming winners in a handicap race. And this is certainly the case in connection with Mrs. Spruill's volume under consideration here. Thus the jacket proclaims "a southern historian's" judgment based on "proved scholarship" that her book is "THE FINEST STUDY I know on the history of women anywhere in the world by any

author . . . I have weighed my words carefully," as a scholar should. Here is indeed high praise—lofty in proportion of course to the scholarly historian's familiarity with the literature on women everywhere in the world. Since the aforesaid historian has weighed his or her words carefully, the assumption must be that such familiarity is wide-ranging and deep-thrusting with respect to places and time. The assumption is that the acquaintance comprises, for instance, Dr. Kate Campbell-Hurd Mead's *History of Women in Medicine* which runs from pre-historic ages to the period of colonial America, likewise documented with source materials every step of the way.

Any commentator on the volume under review is intimidated by the judgment of the scholarly historian who sets the pace. But reading a little further down the jacket one encounters the statement that the author "has made her carefully limited and intensive study of women in the English colonies of the South." Furthermore in her own Preface she delimits her study to still narrower bounds. "My original plan," Mrs. Spruill declares, "was to make a study of the changing attitudes toward women in the South." But groundwork was needed and hard to execute. "So I decided to limit the subject to the life and status of women in the English colonies of the South. My purpose was to find out as much as possible about the everyday life of women, their function in the settlement of colonies, their homes and domestic occupations, their social life and recreations, the aims and methods of their education, their participation in affairs outside the home, and the manner in which they were regarded by the law and society in general."

Within that purpose, after working for ten years, Mrs. Spruill has produced a

truly scholarly piece of reporting. She researched in the important depositories of records and she had the advice of many leading historians in the North as well as in the South. She writes with sensitivity to the comic no less than to the grave. Her volume is illustrated with congruous reproductions of items falling within her purpose. A bibliography of 27 pages gives readers and disciple-students valuable clues to her primary sources of information. Her humor is conveyed in every chapter, the one on "The Lady's Library" being peculiarly amusing to this commentator. Her gravity is displayed, with especial emphasis perhaps, in the chapter called "Under the Law," although the account of women regularly "in the straw" is a clever blend of the sober and the gay.

What is omitted both in purpose and execution, in this reviewer's opinion, for the finest possible study of women at least, even in the South in the colonial period, is perspective and detail pertaining to the intellectuality of Southern women in that period. Mrs. Spruill is aware of that omission and explains it by the dearth of source materials. The documentation may not in fact exist. But the historian of the future who, looking back, would evaluate the women of our own democratic era in terms of the writing and buying of the *Ladies Home Journal*, for example, would surely present a very fragmentary picture of the women of our era. That countless Southern women of the colonial period had education not acquired in the schools or to be measured by the prevailing thought of women is implied by such a document as the diary of Eliza Lucas Pinckney. That women used their own minds and possessed intellectual power is both suspected and revealed to some extent. On the basis of law and public opinion alone

they could never have been the social force they actually were.

Whether the "law is an ass" or not, it does not cover practice. Nor does it embrace the vagaries of independent criticism and meditation. It is this commentator's hope that eventually source materials may be found on the status of Southern women's mentality in the large no less than in the small, as source materials are coming to light which disclose more of Greek women's mentality in the longer ago.

MARY R. BEARD

New Milford, Connecticut

THE STORY OF RECONSTRUCTION. By Robert Selph Henry. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938. 633 pp. \$5.00.

In this new book, Mr. Henry has carried his narrative of the South, begun in his *Story of the Confederacy*, down to 1877. Like the former treatment, this account is designed primarily for the general reader. He makes little effort to explain the causes of events; rather he is interested in relating the happenings. Mainly concerned with the South, which in this story includes the loyal border states, he discusses only those things about the North which help to explain the national program of reconstruction. His is a political story, although he constantly reverts to the rehabilitation of the South and, except for the neglect of tenant farming, he gives a satisfactory summary of the economic changes during this period.

His story is not original in interpretation or material. Few new sources have been used. Nevertheless he has made use of the best monographic material and he has demonstrated a scholarly attitude. The book's chief value, therefore, lies in the fact that it includes in brief compass an interesting and effective summary

of recent historical discoveries about reconstruction.

The volume is divided into three equal parts: restoration, reconstruction, and redemption. Beginning with an orthodox picture of the 'devastated South after the collapse of the Confederacy, Mr. Henry follows with accounts of the establishment of the Lincoln-Johnson governments in the respective Southern states and the rapid rehabilitation thereafter. By the fall of 1865 the South, he maintains, was on the road to complete restoration with economic and political stability. Ignoring Johnson's warnings, the new legislatures blindly disregarded and offended the prevailing Northern sentiment. The black code, the election of ex-Confederates, and the failure of the general assemblies to grant civil rights to the Negroes gave the Radicals opportunity to delay reconstruction until a bitter anti-Southern sentiment had been created. Cleverly spreading atrocity stories, the Republican leaders were able to work the victorious North into a crusading frenzy. In the hostile atmosphere which prevailed in great intensity until the early seventies, military reconstruction and Negro suffrage were forced on the "Rebel" states. An extravagant and corrupt rule followed. Gradually, however, division in the Southern Republicans' ranks along with a growing sanity, or at least sense of realism, in the Northern states gave the united and belligerent Southern Conservatives opportunities to regain control of their governments. Resorting to various illegal practices and intimidating methods, Democratic leaders won state after

state until under Hayes the last Radical government was overthrown.

In relating his story, Mr. Henry demonstrates a strong sympathy for Johnson and the South. He strives, however, to be fair and to a marked degree he succeeds. He considers Southern leaders partly responsible for the harshness of reconstruction although he finds their position natural. In fact conditions rather than individuals accounted for the tragedy. He even exonerates Thaddeus Stevens of being guided by malice. Instead this extreme Radical's program was primarily due to a genuine love for the Negro. Unfortunately Mr. Henry fails to emphasize the significance of economic forces in the formation of the Radicals' program. He mentions the tariff as a factor, but he fails to show how it, the land grants to railroads, and the banking and currency systems would have been altered to the detriment of the economic supporters of Radicals if the natural alignment of the West and South had been permitted by a peace policy.

Most of the story is interestingly told. In his effort, however, to bring in numerous events in the several states of the South, the author jumps from one to the other and back to Washington, sometimes to the confusion of the reader. The omission of several comparatively insignificant controversies and events within each state would help to eliminate this weakness. The book includes a satisfactory index, an inadequate bibliography, several good illustrations, but no footnotes.

HENRY T. SHANKS

Birmingham-Southern College

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- A. A. U. W. PUBLICATIONS: A CATALOGUE OF GUIDANCE MATERIALS FOR STUDY GROUPS, BRANCH MEETINGS, OPEN FORUMS, AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES. Washington, D. C.: American Association of University Women, 1938-1939. 26 pp.
- THE A. A. U. W.: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT DOES. Washington, D. C.: American Association of University Women, 1938-1939. 16 pp.
- THE CHILD AND THE STATE. VOLUME II. THE DEPENDENT AND THE DELINQUENT CHILD. By Grace Abbott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. 701 pp. \$3.00.
- WHY HITLER CAME INTO POWER. By Theodore Abel. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. 323 pp. \$2.75.
- GUIDING HUMAN MISFITS: A PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Alexandra Adler. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 88 pp. \$1.75.
- THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ANIMALS. By W. C. Allee. New York: W. W. Norton, 1938. 293 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.
- SPRING FLOODS AND TORNADOES, 1936: OFFICIAL REPORT OF RELIEF OPERATIONS. By The American National Red Cross. Washington, D. C.: American National Red Cross, 1938. 173 pp.
- PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES. By Raymond C. Atkinson, Louise C. Odencrantz, and Ben Deming. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1938. 482 pp. \$3.75.
- WHERE DOES AMERICA GO FROM HERE? By Thomas Alexander Baggs. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938. 105 pp. \$1.50.
- MAN AND HIS LIFE BELTS. By Eric T. Bell. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1938. 340 pp. \$3.00.
- VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF THE PHYSICALLY DISABLED. By Lloyd E. Blough. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938. 101 pp. \$0.15.
- PATTERNS OF SURVIVAL. By John Hodgdon Bradley. New York: Macmillan, 1938. 223 pp. \$2.25.
- THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL. Brazil: Department of Propaganda of Brazil, 1938. 126 pp.
- CITIES IN THE WILDERNESS (1625-1742). By Carl Bridenbaugh. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1938. 500 pp. \$5.00.
- THE INTELLIGENT INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY. By P. W. Bridgman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 305 pp. \$2.50.
- THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By Robert Briffault. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1938. 264 pp.
- THE ANATOMY OF REVOLUTION. By Crane Brinton. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1938. 326 pp. \$3.00.
- BEHIND THE SYPHILIS CAMPAIGN. By Philip S. Broughton. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1938. 31 pp. \$0.10.
- LAWYERS AND THE PROMOTION OF JUSTICE. By Esther Lucile Brown. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1938. 302 pp. \$1.00.
- RURAL AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND: SOME OBSERVATIONS OF CURRENT TRENDS. By Edmund deS. Brunner. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938. 70 pp. \$1.50.
- ALLIED PROPAGANDA AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN 1918. By George G. Bruntz. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1938. 246 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.
- GOVERNMENTAL PLANNING MACHINERY. By Sir Henry N. Bunbury. Chicago, Illinois: Public Administration Service, 1938. 25 pp.
- ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND THE FARMER. By Arthur C. Bunce. Ames, Iowa: Collegiate Press, Inc., 1938. 232 pp.
- HONESTY. By Richard C. Cabot. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 326 pp. \$2.50.
- GERMANY AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1866-1914. By E. Malcolm Carroll. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. 852 pp. \$5.00.
- McGILLIVRAY OF THE CREEKS. By John Walton Caughey. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1938. 385 pp. \$2.00. Illustrated.
- MEDICAL INFORMATION FOR SOCIAL WORKERS. By William M. Champion. Baltimore: William Wood and Company, 1938. 529 pp. \$4.00.
- HELPING THE READER TOWARD SELF-EDUCATION. By John Chancellor, Miriam D. Tompkins, Hazel I. Medway. Chicago: American Library Association, 1938. 111 pp. \$1.25.
- IN THE NAME OF COMMON SENSE. By Matthew N. Chappell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 192 pp. \$1.75.
- COMMUNITY RECREATION SERVICE IN CHICAGO. Chicago: Chicago Recreation Project Works Progress Administration Sponsored by the Chicago Recreation Commission, 1938. 18 pp.
- HELPING MAKE LEISURE TIME COUNT IN CHICAGO COMMUNITIES: PLANNING, COORDINATING, AND EXTENDING RECREATION. Chicago: Chicago Recreation Commission, 1938. 11 pp.

- YOUR COMMUNITY: ITS PROVISION FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, SAFETY, WELFARE.** By Joanna C. Colcord. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. 249 pp. \$0.85.
- MONEY TO BURN.** By Horace Coon. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1938. 352 pp. \$3.00.
- LOGIC. THE THEORY OF INQUIRY.** By John Dewey. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1938. 546 pp. \$3.00.
- CONSOLIDATED LOANS FUNDS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES.** By J. M. Drummond and A. H. Marshall. London: William Hodge and Company, 1938. 170 pp. Price 7/6 net.
- JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND: REVIEW FOR THE TWO-YEAR PERIOD 1936-1938.** By Edwin R. Embree. Chicago: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1938. 39 pp.
- MENTAL DISORDERS IN URBAN AREAS.** By Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. 270 pp. \$2.50.
- AMERICAN FAR EASTERN POLICY AND THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR.** Edited by Miriam S. Farley. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938. 71 pp.
- BROADCASTING AND THE PUBLIC: A CASE STUDY IN SOCIAL ETHICS.** By The Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1938. 220 pp. \$1.50.
- THE REFUGEE IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Harold Fields. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. 229 pp. \$2.50.
- TO THE MARKET PLACE.** By Berry Fleming. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938. 517 pp. \$2.75.
- BRICKS WITHOUT MORTAR: THE STORY OF INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION.** New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1938. 96 pp. \$0.25.
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SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, March 31-April 1, 1939

The program for the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society has just been released from the office of the President, Dr. E. W. Gregory, Jr. One main session and eight sectional meetings will feature the following papers:

Main Session: E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama, presiding. *Welcome to the Society*, Harvey W. Cox, President of Emory University; *Culture Complexes as Action Systems*, Hornell Hart, Duke University; *Sociology and Human Welfare*, Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK: Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, presiding. *From the Point of View of the American Association of Schools of Social Work*, Marion Hathway, American Association of Schools of Social Work; *From the Point of View of the State University*, Roy M. Brown, University of North Carolina; *From the Point of View of the Undergraduate College*, Bertha Wailes, Sweet Briar College.

RURAL LIFE AND RURAL PROBLEMS: Harold Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University, presiding. *The Effects of the Mechanization of Agriculture on the Farm Population of the South*, B. O. Williams, Clemson Agricultural College; *Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community*, E. A. Schuler, Louisiana State University; *The Use of Historical Comparison in the Study of Tenure Problems—Denmark vs. the South as an Example*, Guiles A. Hubert, Fisk University.

POPULATION: Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, presiding. *Some Contrasts in Levels of Living in Industrial, Farm, and Part-time Farm Families in Mississippi*, Dorothy Dickins, Mississippi State College; *The Trend of Interregional Migration of Talent: The Southeast, 1899-1938*, Harold L. Geisert, University of Alabama; *Differential Fertility in 1935*, Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund; *A State Experiment in Contraception as a Public Health Service*, Margaret Jarman Hagood, University of North Carolina.

THE FAMILY: Morris G. Caldwell, University of Kentucky, presiding. *A Study of Marriage Licenses Issued in Montgomery County, Alabama in 1936 and 1937*, W. L. Leap, Birmingham-Southern College; *The Family in "String Town": A Study in Rurbanism*, Ruth J. Wittmeyer, University of North Carolina; *Hasband-Wife Agreement Among Louisiana Families*, E. H. Lott, Louisiana State University; *Nature of Graduate and Undergraduate Instruction in Marriage at the University of North Carolina*, Donald Klaiss, University of North Carolina.

THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY: Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University, presiding. *Prerequisites for Graduate Work in Sociology in Southern Institutions*, Edgar A. Schuler and Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University; *Improving the Introductory College Course in Sociology*, Howard H. Harlan, University of Alabama; *The Status of Sociology and the Teaching of Sociology in the South*, Delbert M. Mann, Scarritt College; *Sociology and the Social Studies Curriculum of Secondary Schools*, L. M. Bristol, University of Florida.

SOCIAL RESEARCH: W. E. Cole, University of Tennessee, presiding. *Methodology in Community Research*, Frank D. Alexander, Division of Research, Tennessee Valley Authority; *Migration Research—Methods and a Study of a Small Town*, Parker W. Mauldin, University of Tennessee; *Research Opportunities on Culture Pockets in the South*, John M. MacLachlan, University of Florida; *Possibilities of a Sociology of Science*, J. B. Gittler, University of Georgia.

CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY: Paul W. Shankweiler, Florida State College for Women, presiding. *Modern Trends in Penology*, L. F. Chapman, Superintendent of the Florida State Prison, Tallahassee; *Juvenile Offenders and Their Treatment in Tennessee*, W. B. Jones, Jr., University of Tennessee; *Parole in Alabama*, J. Herman Johnson, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

RACE AND CULTURE: H. C. Brearley, Clemson Agricultural College, presiding. *Class Names as Indices of Cultural Isolation in the South*, Mildred R. Mell, Agnes Scott College; *The Role of the Negro Newspaper*, Ralph N. Davis, Tuskegee Institute; *Adult Education Among Negroes*, Walter R. Chivers, Morehouse College; *Some Aspects of Race Prejudice*, Jay Rumney, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

The presentation of formal papers has been limited to fifteen or twenty minutes. In some sessions, discussion leaders have been appointed to open discussion; in all sessions, there will be ample time for discussion and questions from the floor. Further details can be secured from the President, Dr. E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama, or Dr. B. O. Williams, Secretary, Clemson Agricultural College. Dr. Comer M. Woodward, Emory University, is chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements.